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FIRST QUARTER BALANCE OF PAYMENTS REPORTED

Nassau THE TRIBUNE in English 13 Sep 79 p 1 FL

[Report by Anthony Forbes]

[Text] The country's total national debt, including contingent liabilities of \$30.4 million, stood at \$239.3 million at the end of March, the Central Bank reported.

However, the outstanding debt as at the end of March stood at \$208.9 million compared with \$203.5 million at the end of December 1978, according to the bank's quarterly review.

The quarterly, released yesterday, also revealed that the balance of payments recorded a surplus of \$34.9 million as measured by the increase in the official international reserves.

"The balance of payments position during the first quarter of 1979 reflects the usual seasonal upswing in economic activity led by tourism," the quarterly said.

It said the current account, which showed a surplus of \$40.8 million during the first quarter of 1978, recorded a surplus of \$40.2 million in the first quarter of this year (January to March).

"The general pattern of payments on current account remained essentially unchanged from previous periods," it said. "There have, however, been markedly higher volumes of transactions on most accounts."

The quarterly said that tourism, with estimated inflows of \$149.6 million for this quarter compared with \$139.3 million in the first quarter of 1978, has benefitted from larger expenditures abroad for promotion by both the public and private sectors.

"In addition, there has been a corresponding rise in imports of materials for expansion of tourist facilities and of consumables," the quarterly added.

Owing mainly to the large repayment of private foreign debt of \$9.3 million, the capital account showed a deficit of \$6.3 million for the quarter.

Also, other private capital movements include inflows of \$1.9 million and outflows of \$2.1 million.

New private borrowing from abroad accounted for inflows of \$5.8 million, while net inflows on account of property sales amounted to \$2.3 million compared with \$4.3 million for the first quarter of 1978.

The quarterly said the public sector accounted for net capital outflows of \$3.9 million representing repayment of foreign debt by government of \$1.8 million and by public corporation of \$2.1 million.

Tax revenues of \$41.1 million increased by \$7.6 million over the same quarter last year and non tax revenues of \$10.2 million recorded a \$6 million increase.

Revenue receipts during the first quarter totalled \$51.3 million, or \$13.6 million (36 per cent) higher than the amount collected during the same period of 1978.

In the tax revenue category, import taxes which amounted to \$24.2 million recorded the most significant increase of \$4.7 million over the corresponding period last year.

Selective taxes, business and professional taxes and property taxes increased by \$0.9 million, \$0.8 million and \$0.6 million respectively, while other taxes decreased by \$1.3 million.

The increase in non-tax revenue is mainly attributed to additional receipts from the items other sources and fines, forfeits and administration fees of \$3.2 million and \$2.8 million respectively.

Most of the \$3.0 million increase recorded under other sources is due to payments of profits by the Central Bank as per section 6 of the Central Bank Act.

Expenditure for the first quarter of 1979 amounted to \$39.8 million, which represents an increase of \$5.7 million (17 per cent) over the same period last year.

The quarterly said that of the total expenditure for the period, \$35.9 million (90 per cent) was accounted for by current expenditure.

Capital expenditure at \$3.9 million, represented 10 per cent of total expenditure, an increase of \$1 million over the same period of 1978. At the end of March, the overall surplus excluding net lending of \$0.1 million was \$11.4 million compared to \$3.7 million during the same period last year.

"This improvement in the budgetary position enabled government to retire a portion of its outstanding long term debt and to increase its balances held with the Central Bank.

NONALIGNED MEMBERSHIP IS URGED

Bridgetown ADVOCATE-NEWS in English 10 Sep 79 p 1 FL

[Report by Norman Faria]

[Text] Membership in the non-aligned movement is a must for Barbados if this country is to play a role in and keep informed on, international policies in the years ahead.

This is the view of the head of the Barbados observer delegation to the non-aligned summit conference in Havana, Mr. Ronald G. Mapp.

"It is pretty obvious that Barbados should be in a movement in what is becoming a powerful and major influence in world affairs," he said.

Mr. Mapp, the head of the Barbadian mission to the United Nations, said that he was impressed with the way the delegations from the CARICOM Community organized themselves at the conference.

"We met before the conference opened last Monday and worked out a joint strategy in areas where there was common agreement among us, for instance we agreed to differ over recognition of the present Kampuchean Government, Grenada did not go along with the view that the seat (at the conference) should remain vacant. They wanted to recognise the present Vietnamese-backed government," he said.

Mr. Mapp also said that the delegates from the English-speaking Caribbean should notify the Mid-East countries belonging to OPEC of the social and economic difficulties caused by the rises in the cost of oil.

While in Cuba, Mr. Mapp spoke to a section of the Cuban press.

He told reporters: "We in Barbados see the non-aligned movement as a tremendous force in world affairs. The movement is obviously growing in strength and the 94 countries represented here at this time constitute a big proportion of the world's population."

"It is playing an increasingly important and pivotal role in influencing the course of world events. We are particularly interested in the outcome of decisions on economic matters having consistently taken a firm stand on the need for a new international economic order."

Mr. Mapp flew into the island Saturday night full of praise for the organizational skill and hospitality of the Cubans. The other members of the Barbados delegation were Mr. Carlisle Carter of the ministry of external affairs and Mr. Besley Maycock, the first counsellor of the Barbados permanent mission to the United Nations.

He said he was particularly impressed with the "powerful and inspiring" address of Cuban President Fidel Castro and with the vote of thanks of Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda.

The 96-member movement was formed 16 years ago. This year's conference was the first held in Latin America and the Caribbean.

CSO: 3020

NATION'S GEOPOLITICAL INTERESTS DISCUSSED

La Paz PRESENCIA in Spanish 29 Jul 79 p 7

[Commentary by Juan Pereira Fiorilo]

[Text] We hope that Bolivia is entering a new historical phase: the functioning of a constitutional government which must confront an international politico-economic reality that, unfortunately, has thus far not allowed the country to assume a definite stance with respect to its neighbors.

First we will perform a somewhat lengthy analysis of our country's situation with respect to the Plata and Amazon basins, which entails dealing with Argentine and Brazilian geopolitical arguments. Implicit in this is the situation of the countries composing URUPABOL [Permanent Joint Commission of Uruguay, Paraguay and Bolivia].

The second analysis will approach LAFTA and the Andean group as processes of integration which also somewhat mitigate our pendular position between Argentina and Brazil and draw us closer, moreover, to the Pacific.

The third analysis will concern Bolivia's situation within other processes, such as SELA [Latin American Economic System] and the inter-American one, and our position in relation to the European Community. It will also deal with the very serious situation in which we find ourselves in the domestic sphere with the growth of a policy of physical and economic integration of our critical borderlands stretching from La Paz throughout the north, the west and part of the south.

Bolivian Space

Bolivia should have its own geopolitics for the complete control of its national space within the parameters of development and defense.

It has none. There are almost no specialists who have devoted their efforts to this subject, and we are aware of only a few unfinished theoretical speculative works, for no government has carried out a consistent policy in this regard.

Geopolitics is identified to an extent with an attitude of chauvinistic, exclusive nationalism, but our country cannot conduct itself in this way, either.

However, in the sphere of defense, confronted with the expansionist geopolitics of the "Brazilian Empire" or the "Viceroyalty of the Plata," which recalls the first "Argentine provinces," among which is the "Charcas Audiencia," we must deal with the topic. We must approach it, though, with an attitude conducive to our becoming more than a mere "buffer state" or "geopolitical prisoner," or a nation which is simply territorial "solder" between the Atlantic and the Pacific.

Bolivian space occupies over 1 million square kilometers. Yet the fact is that from its main La Paz-Oruro-Cochabamba axis, it has expanded during the last nearly 30 years toward Santa Cruz and, by rail links, has reached Potosí and Chuquisaca inadequately. Moreover, it is extremely difficult to reach Tarija and Trinidad by this means. Thus, we are not occupying some 42 degrees of geography adjoining Peru, Brazil, Paraguay, Argentina and Chile.

The peripheral areas of the country are separated from the "ecumene"; that is, the area occupied by large numbers of people.

In terms of our national reality, the border regions are "problem areas," and, owing to actively exerted external influence, especially along the boundaries with Brazil, Paraguay and Chile, they can become critical areas, subject to the political, economic and cultural influence of the adjoining countries. Now, with their road systems in place, these countries openly want to penetrate the border, which brings to mind the unhappy memory of the surreptitious occupation by laborers who, in association with the "Fatherland Lodge," were those who really occupied our territory in 1879. It also recalls what was done by Luis Galves Arias and Plácido Castro in the rubber plantations of Acre to generate, with Brazil's cooperation, the war of succession which deprived us of the territories of Purus, Yaco and Acre.

On the basis of this background, the present strained borders must force the new government to consider the necessity of quickly developing a road system linking La Paz with Puerto Heath, Cobiya and Riberalta; Cochabamba and Santa Cruz with Trinidad, so that we are connected directly and/or via Baures with San Joaquín, Magdalena, Exaltación and the entire Itenez basin, which is virtually controlled by Brazil. Moreover, Santa Cruz must be linked with San Ignacio by a paved road which would then reach the headwaters of the Itenez to form a connection with the region controlled by Brazil by means of the city of Matogrosso. The road should then go on to San Matías to provide control of the Brazilian region of San Luis de Cáceres. Santa Cruz and Tarija should extend their highways to Capitán Ustarez and Puerto Esmeralda respectively.

We will now examine the foregoing in greater detail within the context of a plan for physical and economic integration. The plan will be the way of compensating for Bolivia's present sparsity of population.

The Privileged "Geopolitical Triangle"

Brazilian geopoliticians, such as Travassos, Couto e Silva, etc., and the Argentines, such as Guglielmelli, use the arguments concerning this that have been advanced by Mackinder. That is, the heart of a continent enables those controlling it to completely dominate the region.

This area determining the domination of South America is encompassed by the Cochabamba-Santa Cruz-Sucre triangle.

However, even Bolivians in positions of power still have not realized that this circumstance means that we need not be a mere "buffer state" but can become a dominant force. This is because, at a time when aviation is a major factor in commercial traffic--but especially in intra- and inter-continental defense and attack--Bolivia is the country which must feel more at ease concerning defense and offense than any other nation in the hemisphere. This is true despite the fact that the Chileans, following Portales' plans for domination, believed that they could keep us dependent on them by denying us access to the paths of international economic activity and development that we could reach through an outlet to the sea.

First, however, we must achieve national physical integration. It should extend, though, like the arms of an octopus, across the Andes toward the Pacific through Chile and Peru; to the north and east toward Brazil's Amazon region; to the east toward the Atlantic; and, finally, to the south toward Paraguay and Argentina, through the Plata Basin system.

It is with regard to this issue that Argentine Gen Juan Enrique Guglielmelli, in his book "Geopolitics of the Southern Cone," remarks:

"Bolivia," endowed with vast energy and mineral resources of great value to modern industrial development, is a country with three slopes: toward the South Atlantic, through its connection with the Plata River system and the road and railway link with Santos; toward the Andes and/or Pacific, because of its location on the mountain range; toward the Amazon and North Atlantic, through the Bolivian northeast and the Beni. The 'economic triangle' of Santa Cruz de la Sierra-Sucre-Cochabamba has been described by experts employing Mackinder's theory as the 'heart of America.' According to them, whoever controls that area will dominate the region. With respect to this, Brazil has pursued a consistent policy since the last century, a policy sufficiently well known not to be summarized here. It is important to recall, however, that Corumba, Porto Velho and Santos are free ports granted to Bolivia by Brazil. Other points are worth noting, too. The Bolivian east, which is rich in petroleum, gas and iron, is a pole of attraction for its two relatively more highly developed neighbors.

This is particularly true of Brazil, which is not only attempting to obtain what it needs but also to prevent Argentina from attaining its ends. Brazil has sustained its long-held desire to reach the Pacific, a desire which extends to Peru and farther northward. As for Bolivia, Brazil exerts pressure, pushes and is, of course, directly interested in Bolivia's successfully pursuing its claims (which are well-founded, incidentally) in the Arica region. The Paraguayan Trans-Chaco route (beginning in Villa Hayes) will in time provide Bolivia with additional access to the Atlantic, either through Asuncion-Puerto Stroessner-Paranagua or Rio Grande, or perhaps by the Paraguay-Parana Rivers toward the Plata system. Finally, paradoxically, Bolivia urgently needs external aid to overcome the geographic, racial, economic and/or social and cultural factors that can affect, as they often have, its national integration, the absence of which could spread the instability inherent in its situation to the rest of the Southern Cone. In short, while projecting their needs toward the periphery, Bolivia and Paraguay, located in the heart of the Southern Cone, receive from it the influences generated in particular by the needs and rivalries of Argentina and Brazil, with the latter country obtaining obvious, decisive advantages to the point that it now occupies, in the most generous terms, a position of considerable power.

"Thus, the two inland countries occupy an area of potential friction whose importance is not lost on the United States, which also exerts considerable influence in both Asuncion and La Paz."

Bolivia a Pendulum?

The Argentine and Brazilian press frequently state that our country has a policy of swinging back and forth between the two countries. This is partially true, but not exactly as the result of a plan to make use of advantages that our nation might obtain in order to at least achieve national integration and the establishment of connections with the two countries' roads or rivers or rail lines. It is guided, rather, by the likes and dislikes of those who at a given historical moment exercise political power. This means that Bolivia never takes advantage of its strategic geographical location to assist its economic and social development.

Bolivia must draw up a specific plan for a pendular relationship, but it should be based on our country's membership in the Andean group. As a union of countries, it makes it possible for Bolivia to force Argentina and Brazil to do business more fairly, especially in the economic sphere, where we are mere dependents.

On page 79 of his book "Geopolitics of Brazil," General Golbery do Couto e Silva, a geopolitician and the occupant of high posts in Brazil's last two military governments, calls us "geopolitical prisoners" of his country and of Argentina. He says further, "There is too strong a tension between the attractions of the Pacific and the Atlantic, which tear--

across the Andean passes--at Bolivia, so often described as a 'political paradox' and 'a mere expedient of history.'" This reflects an attitude of near contempt toward our territory that is clearly consistent with the hidden, undeclared position taken by many disciples of the Baron of Rio Branco. In order to justify efforts to take our territory in Acre, he said in a note to our government that the contract which had been signed in London to organize a rubber company "resembles the concessions in Africa and is unworthy of our continent." "Until now, Brazil has interpreted the Treaty of 1867 (boundary agreement) very broadly. The Bolivian Government having granted a foreign syndicate rights which had already been granted in the territory of Acre, Brazil believes its duty is /to adhere to the true interpretation of the treaty and consequently to defend parallel 10°20' as the true boundary/, running from the Beni River basin westward to the Peruvian border."

This was how our territory in the north and the northeast was lost.

At present, Argentina is attempting to extend its influence to the Amazon region through financial participation in the Santa Cruz-Trinidad railroad; but, despite various rounds of negotiations, it did not fulfill its commitment to finance the paved highway linking the La Paz-Santa Cruz axis with Potosi, Chuquisaca and Tarija.

The "Brazilian Empire" in turn has, in the mind of many of its theoreticians, living borders; that is, boundaries that are not confined to the limits established by treaty. They are set, rather, by the advancing "bandeirantes" who, since the 15th century, have taken over the west little by little, extending political control, in the absence--as occurs on the Bolivian frontier--of heavily populated areas in the adjoining countries.

As a result, our country must have a flexible policy, but one with clear, lasting, unchanging goals which at the same time are not limited to Argentina and Brazil but also involve the Andean group. It should, however, be carried out in a smooth, intelligent, skillful manner in order to confront the policy of attempted domination being pursued by Chile, a policy assisted by Chileophiles like Banzer Suarez and his gang of land-exchangers.

The Plata Basin and the Southern Cone

Bolivia must think twice concerning its position with respect to the Atlantic and the south.

Which of them would be more useful?

We believe the Plata basin would be; for the other choice would necessarily place us in contact with Chile, a country from which we should remain completely separated as long as it fails to deal fairly with the issue of the return of our coast.

In operating through the Plata basin, we could be allied with Paraguay and Uruguay, countries which are less well developed than Brazil and Argentina. However, a difficulty is that because of geographical separation and the lack of contacts, even commercial ones, between Bolivia and Uruguay, the two countries, which have much in common politically, are not close, and consequently their citizens are unaware of each others' problems.

We are being guided by the desire to convert Peru into a Plata-region country. For this to be achieved, there could be high-level negotiations concerning our turning the waters of Lake Poopo back to the headwaters of the Pilcomayo with the result that Poopo would be formed by water from Lake Titicaca. Because Peru shares Titicaca with our country and has rivers which empty into it, Peru would automatically become a Plata nation.

What issues should be negotiated first?

Renunciation of the 1929 treaty between Chile and Peru, which would give Bolivia the opportunity to negotiate for a port in the former Peruvian region of Tarapaca, safeguarding an ocean outlet through Tacna. If it were too difficult to actually renounce the treaty, it would be useful if Peru would at least assist in facilitating negotiations with Chile, participating in them and avoiding absurd, scarcely American positions like those taken by some Peruvians. An example of this is former Foreign Minister de la Puente (who nevertheless is serving, with Bolivia's support, as a member of the board of the Cartagena Agreement).

The new Bolivian Government thus now has to act directly concerning its international problem, making use of its participation in the Plata basin and the Andean group. However, its purpose must be to compel those countries to provide more than moral support to us. Instead, like Panama and Venezuela, they must use world opinion to force Chile to revise the Treaty of 1904, which was imposed by a violent act, enabling the Bolivian nation to have its own outlet to the Pacific. In this way, the geopolitical equilibrium of the hemisphere would be restored, our country having been allowed to become a means of transit for the Atlantic-Plata countries, enabling, in particular, Brazil's northern and western interior, inland Paraguay and the Argentine north to communicate with the Pacific by means of our highways and railroads within the framework of a plan of genuine economic and political integration.

In this way, Bolivia in turn would nullify geopolitical efforts to dominate our territory, "the heart of America," discussed in almost aggressive tones by some who dream of great, though already vanished, "empires."

URUPABOL

The union of Bolivia with Paraguay and Uruguay is simply the result of a distribution of delegations to the IDB and World Bank, and so forth.

However, in practice, within the Plata basin group there is automatically a common stance with respect to Brazil and Argentina, such as that taken, for example, during the difficult negotiations preceding the creation of the River Plate Basin Development Fund at Punta del Este in 1972.

In the light of this experience, it would be necessary for the foreign ministers of the three countries to meet and plan future joint action for their countries in asking that Argentina and Brazil open their economic borders, abandoning their iron-bound protectionist stance. This would not be asked for raw materials needed by industry in those countries, but rather for manufactured products which we want to produce, in accordance with our natural resources, but which require a larger marketing area because our own populations are too small.

The seeming "advantages" obtained by Bolivia, Paraguay and Uruguay through LAFTA actually scarcely exist, for they have designated manufactured goods which are nearly impossible to acquire in those countries (and which, of course, are limited in number).

For this to take place, there could be agreements establishing industrial complementarity (which in Bolivia's case should accord with Andean group pacts), thus imparting extraordinary momentum to the processes of industrialization that we need. This is the only way we can escape from the unhappy status of relatively less economically developed countries in which we three members of URUPABOL find ourselves.

This is, then, another example of the ineffectiveness shown thus far by our Foreign Ministry. There should be a change in the new constitutional era that we hope Bolivia is entering on 6 August.

9085

CSO: 3010

BOLIVIA

NEWLY RETURNED DIPLOMAT IN CHILE DISCUSSES RELATIONS

La Paz PRESENCIA in Spanish 2 Aug 79 pp 3, 16

[Commentary by Col Milton Delfin Cataldi (Ret), former Bolivian consul general in Santiago; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Now that I am no longer serving as our country's consul general in Santiago, Chile, I think the public may be interested in some observations stemming from the brief period I spent at the Consulate in 1978.

First, it should be established that the purpose of my mission there was solely to serve the major, lasting interests of our nation within the limitations of the present state of relations with Chile.

As one can imagine, my duties were administrative, and as such /they had nothing to do with any political activity whatever with respect to the Chilean Government/ within the framework of the situation following the most recent negotiations engaged in by our government. Furthermore, diplomacy of late has been carried out through the direct "confidential agent" system, even where there have been accredited ambassadors, relegating other officials to a merely informative role.

After 17 March of last year, when relations with Chile were severed, the consul general remained there as our country's sole representative and was thus left in the thankless position of "showing his face" in the neighbor's house. In this--itself uncomfortable--situation, it was necessary to face a number of problems, particularly administrative ones, left by our former Embassy, whose personnel had to leave the country inopportunately.

At the same time, it is only fair to acknowledge that no hostility was expressed there and that we continued to receive courteous treatment, though of the rigidly formal sort which follows the severing of relations. Concerning this, proper attention should be drawn to the cooperation given by the Venezuelan Embassy, which was responsible for our political affairs, through its worthy representative, Ambassador Enrique Azpurua Ayala. In keeping with his government's warm support of our country, he treated us especially well at all times.

Although, as was noted earlier, aside from immigration and transport matters, we were given nothing whatever to do, I did not neglect to study our neighbor country's problems, particularly with respect to the possibility of a change in its policy regarding our century-old problem of access to the sea.

On the basis of my observations, I was able to establish the following:

The Chilean people, like nearly all Latin American peoples, are plain and hospitable, and even understanding of our problems. The contrary is true of its ruling class, both civilian and military, whose mentality with respect to governing seems to have been traditionally influenced by the prerogatives obtained by winning two wars (Yungay, against the Peruvian-Bolivian Confederation, and the War of the Pacific).

The traditional foreign policy of Moneda Palace has not evolved sufficiently to show an understanding that there can be no true coming-to-terms with our country as long as /"the cause"/ of the problem remains. By this I mean the flagrant injustice of our geographic encirclement, a fact that has been recognized even by Chilean writers, such as Manuel Reyna Gutierrez, who used the term "historical blindness" to describe the act of depriving Bolivia of its only access to the sea.

To maintain that /there are no problems remaining/ with our country and that /"Chile owes nothing to Bolivia," as Pedro Daza, the last Chilean ambassador in La Paz, recently reiterated at an OAS meeting, is merely to utter a slogan like the one that Bolivia never had a seacoast. Daza was repeating what had already been said by former foreign minister Patricio Carvajal and present foreign minister Hernan Cubillos.

What we Bolivians actually never had is a /basic sense of foresight and national security,/ and because of this incredible disregard of our borders our coast was taken from us with great ease. Antofagasta was occupied in an hour without the firing of a shot and without a declaration of war. Col Severino Zapata, the prefect, had scarcely 40 soldiers and lacked even a boat with which to face the Chilean squadron of 3 battleships and 150 men commanded by Coronel Sotomayor.

There were scarcely 1,000 Bolivians living there, along with 6,000 Chileans who, in a silent invasion, had come to work in the nitrate mines. At the time, this circumstance was to serve as a reason used to justify the extension of Chilean sovereignty over the region.

We know very well that our country was absorbed in internal conflicts and that the caudillos who rose and fell were interested only in achieving control to enrich themselves and their followers. The same disregard of national interests persisted during the 20 years following that war, and nothing was done to organize and prepare us to resist rather than sign the shameful Treaty of 1904.

The Chilean Ministry of Foreign Relations apparently insists on the familiar proposal of the /"corridor north of Arica"/ or some similar solution based on an /exchange of territory,/ an idea already discounted because it would not be a wise action even as a simple transaction, much less in terms of compensation for a historical wrong.

This is not the place to discuss other solutions involving the port of Arica which might be possible if Peru consented or involving the former Bolivian coast south of the Loa River. Chile would have to be favorably disposed toward it first, and this, to be realistic, would not happen in a direct, bilateral fashion, but rather with intervention by Peru and under the umbrella of such international organs as the United Nations and the OAS.

There is a marked inconsistency in the fact that whereas Chilean diplomats insist on a juridical solution and on the British crown's decision in the conflict with Argentina, in the Bolivian matter they do not want any international body to intervene. They are seeking, rather, to deal with the problem directly and behind closed doors. In the same way, whereas they willingly accept the pope's mediation in the Beagle Channel case, the mere possibility of doing the same in our instance led Foreign Minister Cubillos to say, "That is not the way to solve the problem with Bolivia."

Regarding that problem with Argentina, it should be pointed out that it is a mistake to assume, as many people do, that it is simply a question of owning the islands of Picton, Lennox and Nueva, which in themselves are worth little or nothing. In reality, the fundamental issue is jurisdiction claimed by Chile over 200 miles of Atlantic waters. In strategic terms, Chile would become a controlling factor in the South Atlantic in the event of a third world war, when it would be essential to maintain the line of maritime communications with the southern African coast in order to supply Western Europe, counteracting Soviet submarine and airplane activity.

At the same time, the Chilean fleet would be in a position to control Argentine possessions and naval activity in the Antarctic and, finally, do what it wished during a hypothetical armed conflict between Argentina and Brazil. In this way, Chile would become the third South American power, and Argentina, in the interests of its own security, could not permit this.

Clearly, here is a reappearance of the Chilean "expansionism" accompanying the quest for "national greatness" that characterized its politics and military doctrine during the last century. With this spirit and a patriotism which is constantly being cultivated, if Chile had the potential resources of Brazil or Argentina, it would have absorbed its neighbors by now. Chile has not had problems only with countries not adjoining it; and how could it have problems if they were not neighbors?

The Foreign Ministry at Mapoco describes as /"Bolivian pretensions"/ the just action of asking for what was ours, not regaining 400 kilometers of

coastline and a vast expanse of territory, but simply an outlet on the Pacific. If this is to be called "pretensions," what about Chile's pretensions to the acquisition of access to the Atlantic through territory and waters that were never theirs? Perhaps the coast and the entire Atacama Desert were not under the jurisdiction of the Royal Audiencia of Charcas, then of Potosi; and perhaps Antofagasta itself was not founded by the Bolivian patriot and legislator Abdon Ondarza, acting as our government's representative?

Finally, facing historical reality, we should concede that although we originally had much greater possibilities than Chile, in general terms that country now has twice our population and economic and military capability. Thus, we are clearly in a position of material inferiority with respect to these "small powers" surrounding us, and we shall have to be on guard at all times if we want to retain what is left of our national territory.

How can the gap be closed? This, above all, is what our highest political leaders, who now--as always--are so desperately seeking power, should ask themselves!

During the War of the Pacific, the newspapers of that day, calling for "the uniting of Bolivians," suggested "the disbanding of all the parties that have so severely bloodied this poor country that were it not for them, today Bolivia would have greater material means of defending itself." Then, as today, people sought power not to serve the country but to make use of it in the illicit enrichment of the ruler and his toadies. . . . Thus, we have remained a century behind with respect to other nations in the hemisphere. Moreover, the "country's saviors" of recent decades have solved not one single /fundamental problem facing the nation/ of those that linger like a wall impeding national progress.

Chileans, including the communists, say, "Chile comes first." We should say, in the same way, /"Bolivia comes first,"/ ahead of any minor internal political issue However, whereas Chile always has weapons ready to insure its conquests and is now buying modern armaments costing a billion dollars in order to prepare in its conflict with Argentina, there are people here who are proposing the dismantling or reduction of our small armed forces, which are clearly unable to guarantee our national defense, which, as we well know, also depends on the overall potential of the country.

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FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES: U.S. MAFIA, EMIGRE YOUTH, PUERTO RICO

Mafia History in Country

Havana CUBA INTERNACIONAL in Spanish Aug 79 pp 60-64

[Article by Norberto Fuentes: "Special Report: The Mafia in Cuba"]

[Text] It would seem that everything was forgotten in those early weeks of January 1959, when the big fish were withdrawing from what had been their most lucrative establishment in Latin America: the city of Havana. Big fish or heavy artillery, whatever is the proper translation for "pezzi da novanta," these men who now had faces tanned by the sun and accustomed to wearing loose linen native shirts were appearing in waves at the Rancho Boyeros international airport. The passports issued by the U.S. Department of State showed names of Italian origin: Genovese, Roselli, Guliano, and Stassi, but also some of Anglo-Saxon or Hebrew origin, such as that of Meyer Lanski.

They had landed at that same airport only five or six years earlier. At that time Fulgencio Batista guaranteed their investments, encouraged their projects . . . and shared the costs. But in January of 1959 Batista fled Cuba and the situation changed drastically with the arrival of the revolutionary troops in the capital of the country. And so the "capos," the big fish, the heavy artillery retraced their steps along the path.

However, one can imagine that they would rapidly forget the Cuban episode. They had always boasted of their Mafia philosophy. Men devoted to the gaming racket, they claimed to be good losers and to know how to sit tight when luck went against them. What they left behind them was a dozen hotels, several thousand slot machines and hundreds of roulette tables. Little, really, if compared with the profits they had already earned.

Deadly Alliance

But they did not know how to lose. This is known for a certainty now.

It was at the end of the 1960s that reports linking the former gaming czars in Cuba with the operations of the U.S. CIA began to filter into the American press.

Apparently the godfathers had not taken refuge in their Florida mansions to engage in meditation, nor to allow the Havana casinos to disappear one after the other or be converted into innocent lunchrooms for the workers, dancing halls or even--this was the fate suffered by a cabaret which became legendary--the Sans Souci--into a workshop for repairing four-barreled automatic anti-aircraft guns.

There began to be talk then of an alliance organized by the Mafia and the CIA beginning in the middle of 1960 to combat the Cuban revolution. Three names were mentioned, three "tough guys" involved in the affair--John Roselli, Momo Salvatore, Sam Giancana and Santos Trafficante, especially Trafficante, the Tampa don, a protege of Meyer Lansky, who had become the most important of the Cosa Nostra leaders operating in Cuba, never ceasing his efforts. According to his own words, he never forgot for a moment what had happened on the island, and he wanted vengeance.

It was learned that Richard Bisell, the sadly notorious chief of covert operations for the CIA during the reign of Allen Dulles, was the author. It was he who conceived the kind of collaboration the Mafia could offer--infiltration of the men capable of assassinating Fidel Castro into Havana.

When Robert Kennedy, who was attorney general in the U.S. government, learned of this alliance in 1962, he evidenced dismay. He made a strange comment then. He said that the officials under his orders in the Department of Justice had worked hard to accumulate information in order to be able to defeat the Mafia lieutenants, but these lieutenants had been recruited by an agency of the government itself and were becoming a kind of patriot. "I hope that in the future I will be informed in time as attorney general of who the criminals working for my country are," he said.

Of the three leading capos who arranged the alliance with the CIA, two died under mysterious circumstances which were never clarified. On Thursday, 19 June 1975, Momo Salvatore, Sam Giancana, was found dead in the kitchen of his home, with three 22-caliber bullets in his head (22-caliber pistols were routinely used by U.S. intelligence during World War II). On 7 August 1976, three fishermen navigating through a canal near Biscayne Boulevard in Miami found a 55-gallon drum with a human leg protruding from a hole in the side floating on the water. It contained the body of John Roselli.

There was an important circumstance related to these events: Roselli and Giancana had been summoned to appear before a Senate commission investigating the activities of the CIA and the agency's links with the underworld and with the assassinations of foreign leaders.

This was not the first time the U.S. intelligence services had made agreements with underworld leaders, nor was it the first time that the Mafia had been involved with U.S. politics.

Underworld Operation

In the middle of 1942, World War II was well underway. According to some reports, naval intelligence was concerned about the possibility of sabotage operations at the New York docks, and was seeking an entirely safe method to avoid any problems. The idea was to employ the men who already controlled the docks, i.e. the agents of organized crime. After some discussions it was decided that only Lucky Luciano was powerful enough to undertake the task. An agreement was reached and the plan was implemented. Orders were given and everyone knew that they had to obey them if Lucky Luciano, who had been in prison for years, was to be released. And so, for as long as the war lasted, organized crime and the U.S. intelligence services worked hand in hand.

Lucky Luciano's release also meant the flourishing of the profitable narcotics trade. Before the war, some godfathers had shown little interest in drugs, and there was always a conflict between the more recently established elements and the old Mafia which had not decided to go into this lucrative business. During the war, there was a great interruption in drug traffic, but the return of Lucky Luciano to Sicily was reflected in a new upsurge in heroin traffic.

One of the main stopovers along the route via which drugs reached the United States was Cuba. Meyer Lansky had visited the island for the first time in 1933, just after Fulgencio Batista had become a strongman. The two men met to discuss the increasing exports of Cuban molasses used in the production of liquor to the United States. They were in perfect agreement and established bonds which proved highly profitable for both men for the next 20 years.

The Gulf Stream

To establish some background, we must go back to the 1920s, when prohibition was the law in the United States (from 17 January 1920 until 1933). For almost 15 years, in this Gulf area, activities went beyond the avoidance of police patrols watching the coastal areas lending themselves to the landing of liquor boats. All the extremes of maritime crime were experienced, and in the days when piracy reigned: one vessel attacking another, plunder, destruction and fire.

The greater part of the supplies of alcohol entering U.S. territory during the prohibition years came from the Antilles.

And the first major leader who provided his men with speed launches for illegal liquor traffic was an Italian-American named Jim Colosimo, who spent more than 30 years in the United States. The owner of a cafe in Chicago,

he began as a street sweeper in that city and later rose to a certain notoreity as a protector of Sicilians and Calabrians.

Thanks to his assistance, thousands of bootleggers traveled from secret sites on the Florida coast to inlets located in the Antilles. Vessels with limited capacity but faster than the speediest coast guard vessels plied back and forth between these points. Colosimo earned millions of dollars from this business, but was gunned down in a hail of lead. Johnnie Torio succeeded him. His was a more profitable era, during which piracy also flourished on the waters of the Caribbean. In that period the hijackers, the true pirates of that era, emerged. While the bootleggers contracted for the purchase of alcohol in Cuba, Jamaica or Haiti legally, the hijackers lay in ambush for the speedy vessels of the smugglers in even faster launches, overtaking and plundering them.

These activities gave rise to real battles about which, strangely enough, little has been reported in books or films. And finally, Alfonso Capone mounted the throne. And with him, naturally, came the era in which the police on the coast and the Coast Guard never saw the bootleggers' vessels, only those of any hijacker intending to interfere with the operations of the ships' captains working for Al Capone.

A Cuban Empire

In 1937 Meyer Lanski launched his first Cuban operation, a casino in the National Hotel. That same year he rented the Havana racecourse from the National City Bank of New York. But on that occasion no major investments were made. Cuba simply remained the land of great future promise for organized crime. Lanski realized that Cuba could serve as a perfect base for his operations. It was a poor and underdeveloped country where the politicians always wanted more money. Batista in particular was more than ready to participate in an alliance with Lanski's syndicate. The relations of these two men, Lanski and Batista, became so close that when Franklin D. Roosevelt, then president of the United States, wanted to persuade the Cuban dictator not to run for office in the 1944 election, Meyer was the man chosen to talk with him. It has also been said that many years later, it was he who took Batista's fortune out of the country, just a few months before the revolution triumphed.

After the visit from Roosevelt's emissary in 1944, Batista retired to Daytona Beach for a time, where he patiently waited for such time as the United States would need him again.

After World War II, Cuba once again began to assume an important place in the international scheme of organized crime. Lucky Luciano had been released from prison and wanted to be closer to his zone of operations. He left Italy and took up residence in a Havana penthouse, where he was visited by important Mafia leaders, such as Albert Anastasia, Joe Adonis, Frank Costello,

and Lanski, among others, and by the singer Frank Sinatra, who was the host for these meetings. The advance of the postwar period and money which was already flowing abundantly from Las Vegas made the conditions bright for the beginning of the establishment of a new empire in Cuba.

Laws to Suit Meyer Lanski

On 10 March 1952 Batista brought off a coup d'etat and took over the government of Cuba again. Shortly afterward Meyer Lanski returned to the country. This time his plans were more ambitious. Instead of managing or renting a casino, he himself built hotel-casino complexes such as those he had controlled so successfully in Las Vegas. Batista had a half partnership in the business. And Batista's investment, naturally, came out of the public treasury.

But Meyer Lanski required revision of the laws--more liberal legislation which would favor the issuing of licenses for casino operations. He suggested that the import taxes on construction materials for these complexes be eliminated. His requirements were met in less than a year. And, naturally, given the relations between Lanski and Batista, anyone who wanted a piece of the pie would have to go to Lanski.

And so in the middle of the 1950s everything was in perfect order. Lanski and his associates had taken over the majority of the hotels and were planning new construction. Many of the confidence men who had been in Las Vegas came to Havana, and the faces of Moe Dalitz, Phil Kastel, Eddie Levinson, the Cellini brothers and Cliff Jones, the former lieutenant governor of Nevada, were added to the local rogues' gallery. Although Meyer remained on the sidelines, he built the Hotel Riviera as his own prize, a beautiful building facing the Havana breakwater, at a cost of \$14 million. His title, according to the official documents, was kitchen manager.

Gangsters in Uniform

The law approved by Batista authorizing the construction of the hotel-casinos did not in any way mean free granting of the concessions. The Cosa Nostra gangsters had to obtain them from their native counterparts. Santos Traficante, the protege of Luciano and Lanski, who headed the Sans Souci cabaret, used to say that the real gangsters in Cuba wore military uniforms or carried ministers' briefcases.

For each new installation, the businessmen had to pay several tens of thousands of pesos to Batista and his government minister, Santiago Rey. In addition, part of the profits of the casinos was collected every night by the chief of police in the sector. All of this came within the rules of the game. And there was nothing to prevent the casino fever from spreading. Santos Traficante himself took over two new undertakings--the Comodoro and Deauville hotels, while other associates operated the new gaming rooms in the National, Capri, Havana Hilton, Plaza, Saint John and Varadero International hotels.

later the dictator Batista relaxed the requirement that casinos be established in buildings costing more than a million pesos--a requirement he himself had endorsed and signed into law! First of all he authorized gambling at two Havana handball courts, and then he authorized his brother Panchin Batista to operate two wretched gaming houses in poor neighborhoods, one of them in the Chinese quarter. These gaming houses were left alone by the police, who did not demand their cuts because the dictator had given them personal orders to this effect.

All of the gamblers from the U.S. (the so-called tourist trade) began to move toward Havana. The eyes of other rowdy elements, enemies of the Lanski-Traficante clan, turned toward the map of the area south of Florida. Albert Anastasia, the head of a powerful New York family, decided that he too wanted to participate in the Cuban fiesta. And so he reached an agreement with the owners of the Copacabana hotel, on the Havana coast, renting from them premises which he would use to open a casino.

On 14 November 1957, 60 high-ranking Cosa Nostra leaders, Santos Traficante among them, agreed to meet in Apalachin, in the New York area. It is presumed that one of the points on the agenda for the meeting was whether Cuba would be regarded as open territory for all the families or not. But the meeting could not be held because the police appeared on the scene. Some days later, Traficante took the first National Airlines morning flight to Havana. His plane was halfway there, when hundreds of kilometers behind him, three individuals burst into a New York barbershop and emptied their revolvers into the body of a client being given a shave. He was Albert Anastasia. The assassins fled without leaving a trace.

End of the Fiesta

It was on New Year's Eve in 1959 that everything came to an end for the Mafia on Cuban territory. At 2:30 a.m., Batista reached the Columbia military encampment and boarded a C-47 to fly to the Dominican Republic in search of refuge. At more or less the same time, Meyer Lanski boarded another plane to cross the Caribbean and land on the Florida coast. The other Mafia leaders took their leave of Havana in the days that followed.

Their installations and some thousands of artifacts with which no one knew what to do remained behind them here. What use has a revolution for hundreds of roulette tables, slot machines, sets of dice and decks of cards? For the time being, the hotels continued to serve as hotels. The casino at the Hotel Capri was converted into the Capri Salon, a nightclub with a dance floor. The casino at the Tropicana was transformed into a first-class restaurant. The Havana Hilton was rebaptized the Havana Libre and its casino was made into a large lecture hall, as was the casino at the Havana Riviera. The Montmartre cabaret was first a workers' and students' dining room, and now houses the Moscow Restaurant. And the famous Sans Souci, which was used first to store and repair anti-aircraft weapons and then became a parking garage.

Spacious areas in the shadows converted from empty useless luxury to serving popular needs of various sorts. Restaurants, cabarets, lecture halls which are operating every night at the very places where only two decades ago the underworld ruled. Perhaps without even intending to, the people who gather there, while they learn or enjoy their leisure, are providing a high moral lesson.

The Godfathers Provide Intelligence

The Mafia and the CIA collaborated closely on organizing the mercenary invasion of the Bay of Pigs in the South of Cuba, as well as on numerous plans to assassinate the leader of the Cuban revolution, Fidel Castro.

The French daily newspaper LE MATIN DE PARIS recently reported that the Mafia and the CIA put a price on the life of the Cuban leader.

Among other offers, Meyer Lanski promised a million dollars to whoever would assassinate Fidel Castro. The newspaper stressed that the CIA tried repeatedly to murder the highest Cuban leader.

The article said that former "casino owners," such as Russell, Bufalino, Plumeri, Levine and Granello, used their contacts with Cuban exiles to report to the CIA on Cuban troop movements and military maneuvers.

The American multi-millionaire Howard Hughes also participated in the vast operation against the Cuban revolution.

But the "patriotism" of Hughes was not entirely altruistic, because according to certain Mafia leaders, he planned to set up in Cuba himself when the revolution had been liquidated, building various vacation complexes on the Havana coast and building a giant aerodrome, purchasing some casinos and becoming the mogul of tourism in Cuba.

To achieve these goals, he made a temporary loan to the CIA of a small island called Cayo Sal, for the training of mercenaries.

As to the plan for assassinating Fidel Castro, the CIA had already indicated what the modus operandi should be. For this reason it made the Mafia responsible for the physical elimination of the Cuban leader, by means of what has come to be called "subtle means."

Among the CIA proposals were the use of a box of cigars poisoned with botulin toxin so virulent that an individual "would fall dead after putting one in his mouth."

Also there was a plan to poison Fidel Castro's food with a substance which would leave no trace. The Mafia men were given poison capsules, as well as \$10,000 for their initial expenditures, for this purpose.

There were many other plans: snail shells which would explode, diving suits treated with a lethal fungus, etc. In all cases, the CIA sought to have these missions carried out by the professional assassins of the crime syndicate.

The director of the CIA in those days, Allen Dulles, personally supervised the contacts between the agency and the Mafia. All of the memoranda pertaining to the efforts to assassinate Fidel Castro went exclusively to Dulles, the assistant director, Richard Bisell, has stated.

But the plans failed, including the mercenary invasion of the Bay of Pigs. This defeat is known in Cuba as the Playa Giron victory.

Some U.S. and European journals have discussed the contradictions which developed between President John F. Kennedy and the Mafia-CIA alliance. Toward the middle of November 1963, Kennedy asked his advisers to undertake a great purge of the agency, but his plan died with him in Dallas, Texas.

With every passing day the report that Kennedy was assassinated in an operation mounted by the CIA working with the Mafia and some counterrevolutionary elements becomes more credible.

According to what Mafia member John Roselli has revealed, the plotters in the Kennedy murder put Lee Harvey Oswald in the first line to pull the trigger. Oswald could shoot at Kennedy or rather serve as a decoy, while others fired at the President of the United States from closer vantage points.

When Oswald was captured, the secret conspirators, Roselli suggested, were afraid that he would provide information leading to their capture.

This would certainly have led to a massive operation against the Mafia in the United States. Therefore Jack Ruby, another Mafia member, received orders to eliminate Oswald, making it seem that this was in reprisal for the murder of the President. This is how John Roselli explained the multiple killing in Dallas, as reported in the NEW YORK TIMES.

Later Roselli himself was eliminated. Ruby was to follow a short time later. The forensic medical experts insisted he died of cancer.

Emigre Youth Brigade Activities

Havana BOHEMIA in Spanish 10 Aug 79 pp 50-55

[Article by Reinaldo Penalver Moral: "With the Antonio Maceo Brigade--The Second Carlos Muniz Contingent Answers Present"]

[Text] When this new issue of BOHEMIA reaches the readers, countless suitcases belonging to the members of the Second Carlos Muniz Contingent of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, packed with mementoes and emotions, will be ready

for the return trips to various destinations with their respective owners. The bulk of the contingent will travel to the United States while the rest will scatter to Mexico, Venezuela, Spain and Puerto Rico.

The visit to the Isle of Pines on Tuesday and Wednesday of this week marked the culmination of an intensive tour of the entire country in which the 175 members of the brigade carried out an extensive program of activities and participated in the building of the new textile settlement of Ariguanabo, in the environs of the city of Havana.

They also visited places of historical and economic interest in the provinces of Havana, Holguin, Santiago de Cuba, Cienfuegos and Pinar del Rio, ending their extensive program in the special municipality on the Isle of Pines.

During the period from 14 July to 8 August, approximately one month, these young people who were taken out of the country by their parents when they were children and others born abroad met with workers, peasants and students, visiting industrial centers, agricultural plans, schools and hospitals. They also participated in conferences, cultural, political and recreational activities, and had an opportunity to visit members of their families whom they were seeing for the first time, in many cases.

As reporters for BOHEMIA, we had the privilege of traveling through the island with the two visiting contingents, and can state that each of them experienced moments of profound significance.

The first contingent of 55 brothers had the transcendental mission of demonstrating to our people that within the Cuban communities abroad, there are individuals who approach Cuba and its revolutionary process with an open, peaceful, sympathetic attitude, while the second contingent will have to its credit an advantage other than its participation in the celebrations to commemorate the 26th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Barracks and the solemn march in memory of the fallen Frank Pais--the privilege of being in Cuba during the celebration of two important events: the triumph of the Nicaraguan Sandinista National Liberation Front in its struggle against Somoza's dictatorship and its presence at the main 26 July ceremony held by the legitimate and heroic representatives of the new Nicaragua.

Without a doubt, this new contingent represented a real triumph for the leadership of the Antonio Maceo Brigade in its zeal to achieve an ever-greater degree of closeness between Cuban youth abroad and the dynamic process of the Cuban revolution.

This group of young people is three times the size of the first one, and more representative geographically, since it is made up of Cubans living in different countries. This aspect shows the success of the work done by the leaders of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, who have in the limited framework of a single year and a half succeeded in reaching, with their warm and patriotic message, various youth sectors which had never considered Cuba as an alternative for finding their roots.

Our commander in chief was only too correct when during the meeting with the first contingent he stressed the importance and the strength of the profound national feelings surviving in these young people. "This aspect is due in great measure," Rafael Betancourt, one of the leaders of the brigade explained to us, "to our firm historical roots which go back to more than 100 years of struggle and, basically, to the impact Cuba has had in international circles since the triumph of the revolution."

The fact is that in world terms, an atmosphere of such prestige and admiration for our fatherland has developed since the revolutionary triumph that to be a Cuban sympathizing with our process in any corner of the world is a matter of pride. And it was this justified pride that we could see in the daily dealings and fraternal relations we established with almost all of these young people, many of whom expressed themselves in foreign accents or very simply do not speak our language.

All these young people without exception feel that they have a duty to fulfill to the fatherland, and that is to carry the truth of the Cuban revolution and their people to the various communities in which they live.

An Historic Coincidence

From the beginning the dark young man with the sad deep gaze attracted our attention. He was always the first to get off the bus and the last to get back on, and then he paused as if transfixed, contemplating the weapons used during the clandestine or guerrilla struggle. During the main 26 July ceremony we saw him wearing a red and black bracelet on his left wrist with obvious pride, and this led us to the questioning typical of journalists. "He is Mario Martinez and he lives in New York," a brigade member told us without providing further details. Some hours later, as we were visiting the Siboney farm complex, we came upon Mario reading a biography with interest--that of the Moncada Barracks marcher Mario Martinez Arara. As he bent over the document, he tried in vain to hold back the huge tears coursing down his cheeks. "Yes, comrade, he was my father. I lived with my uncles and they took me away from Cuba when I was only 13. I hardly knew of his heroic revolutionary career. Today I am even more proud of him, because I have been able to see the reality for which he fought and died. Imagine the coincidence. I return to Cuba at the age my father was when he died, 31, and within the month I have visited the places he did--the Siboney farm and the old Moncada Barracks."

Some of the Brigade Members

Rafael Betancourt is the grandson of rebel Gen Pedro Betancourt, and leader of the Antonio Maceo Brigade. "We know that our process will be costly. In less than a year it has cost us the life of a comrade. However, the murder of Carlos Muniz has brought us closer to Cuba, has plunged us deeper in the revolutionary process of our people with their more than 100 years of struggle, for Carlos died as a Cuban revolutionary."

Alvaro de Prat, 15, was born in Caracas, Venezuela of a Cuban mother and Venezuelan father. He is a fourth-year pre-university student. "My grandfather, a native of the Isle of Pines who has lived in Venezuela since 1948, aroused my enthusiasm for visiting Cuba. Since I was little I have heard constantly at home about Fidel and the revolution. My grandfather was here last December and from what he told me of the success achieved by Cuba I thought he was exaggerating. Now I see he was right. This is a very beautiful process."

Amalia Rodriguez, 19, a pre-university student, was born in Mexico City of a Cuban father and Mexican mother. "My father left Cuba in 1952 because of economic problems. He said that life was difficult here for the workers. I have spent the happiest days of my life here, because I have personally made the acquaintance of my numerous uncles and cousins living in Victoria de las Tunas. I plan to return to spend more time here. I am lucky, because I have two native lands of the most beautiful sort."

Concha Mendoza, 31, is a doctor of internal medicine and lives in New York. She comes of a vast Cuban family which owned much property in Cuba, including the old Jaronu and Cunagua sugar mills in the province of Camaguey. "Except for a sister who continues to be reactionary, we--my two brothers and I--sympathize profoundly with the revolution and support all the efforts it is making to provide a good life for the people of Cuba."

Nestor Hernandez, 19, was born in Washington of a Cuban father and an American mother. He is studying journalism at Clark College in Georgia. His father emigrated from Cuba 26 years ago for economic reasons. "I do not speak Spanish nor was I born in Cuba, but I feel myself more Cuban now than before. My father always inculcated in me a love for the heroes of Cuban independence. I know a great deal about the history of Fidel and the revolution, and for this reason I was moved when I visited the old Moncada Barracks and the Siboney farm."

An Emotion-Filled Meeting

For Ena Cristina Marrero Torres, this first visit of hers to Cuba after twenty-some years of absence had profound meaning because she found both her mother and her native land. She knew neither, despite the fact that her mother gave her life and the country gave her her nationality, of which she is extremely proud. The story this unusual young woman told us is moving and dramatic.

Having lost her father at the age of two, Ena Cristina was cared for by her mother until she was five. Then mental problems led to her mother's commitment to that sadly notorious hospital for the mentally ill in Mazorra. The little girl Ena, left entirely without support, with no close relatives to concern themselves with her, was placed in the San Vicente de Paula orphan asylum. The unfortunate child lived in an atmosphere of catechism and rosary until the day she was transferred to the Maternity and Charity

Home, where she lived until she was 16. She recalls that in those 11 years in asylums, she was only able to see her luckless mother, incarcerated in that warehouse for the mad, the Mazorra mental hospital, two or three times.

"I wanted to forget the picture of my mother as I saw her last, in a heavily barred cell with her hair tangled, starved and clothed in rags, with an empty eye socket following an attack by another patient. It rendered me mad when that image of my mother came to my mind."

Ena Cristina remembers that when the Cuban revolution triumphed, the nuns took her out of the country and to the United States, where she began to work and make contact with the first time with the real situation of the workers' class in the United States.

"This contact with the workers' class in the factories awakened in me the dream which has been my life, and little by little I began to identify with the struggle being waged by my comrades at work, until I became more radical and began to think and feel as a Cuban and a proletarian. I have within me a profound sense of nationality and love of the revolution which occurred in my country."

Her desire to travel to Cuba was crystallized when she joined the First Contingent of the First Antonio Maceo Brigade and later when she talked with representatives of the Cuban community abroad and the authorities in Cuba. This was when she joined the work of the brigade in San Francisco, California, where she lives with her two daughters and her Chilean husband, presently fighting with the Sandinistas.

Her desire to visit her beloved homeland was based on two hopes: the first was to take flowers to the grave of the mother for whom she mourned and the second was to renew acquaintance with her unfamiliar native land.

Her first effort was to write to the Cuban Institute for Friendship With Peoples (ICAP) to find out from that body where her mother, an inmate in the insane asylum 29 years earlier, had been buried.

The answer from the ICAP was brief, dramatic and moving: "Your mother is alive and in good health."

BOHEMIA reporters were present at this unforgettable meeting, finding it difficult to make notes on the tear-dampened sheets.

As soon as Ena Cristina returns to the United States where she lives with her two daughters, she will make arrangements to depart for good for Managua, Nicaragua, where she will join the husband who is impatiently awaiting her.

Naturally, she has begun proceedings to take her beloved mother with her so that "she can spend the last years of her life with me," as she told us. However, the doctors at the Havana Psychiatric Hospital where the sweet old

lady of 73, suffering from paranoid schizophrenia, is being cared for, warned that a sudden change of environment might threaten her present highly satisfactory state, within the context of this painful and cruel disease.

"I am reassured, for I know that my mother is in good hands, is in good health and is content to live at this beautiful hospital, the only one of its class in the world. I find no words with which to thank the people there."

Emigre Youths Interviewed

Havana JUVENTUD REBELDE in Spanish 9 Aug 79 p 6

[Article by Susana Lee: "In the Midst of a Frank and Brotherly Conversation"]

[Text] It all began at 1600 hours last Sunday, at the end of a visit to the Federico Engels Vocational School. An informal gathering of young people from Pinar del Rio and members of the Second Carlos Muniz Varela Contingent of the Antonio Maceo Brigade was organized. The subject? Experiences, impressions, opportunities in the countries where they lived. Perhaps because the meeting was held in a school, the first question had to do with education. Then there was talk of solidarity with Nicaragua, of what it means to be living in and building a socialist society, the development of Cuban youth, frustrations, dissatisfaction and forms of struggle in the countries where the brigade members live, impressions of Pinar del Rio and of the school, social backgrounds, competition within capitalism and socialism, the pride felt by all--both those here and there--in the achievements of the revolution. And so one, two, three, almost four hours elapsed.

Zoila Olivera Valdes: What is education like in your countries? Do the young people and children have study opportunities?

Nardelis Sanchez: As a pre-school teacher, I think I can give you some idea of this situation. First of all, in a comparison of our life in Puerto Rico, it is full of the insecurities inherent in a society which is not based on the full development of man but on his exploitation. As a result of this, our educational system is saturated with this philosophy.

The public educational system has no kindergarten for all the people. There is a federal program of pre-school education centers--that is where I work--in zones with limited resources, in an effort to reach certain sectors.

And there is private and costly education for those privileged enough to pay for it. We also have something which is a profound shock to us, and that is the incidence of crime, drug addiction and all these problems which we face daily.

Guillermo Grenier: I have passed through the various stages of American education, since I lived in the East earlier and now, for the past two and

a half years, have lived in New Mexico. In the United States there are two kinds of private educational institutions, those run by individuals who in one way or another have found the money to establish schools, and religious institutions, and there are the state schools. The private schools have the greatest prestige, speaking generally, because public education there--and we are speaking of the primary and secondary levels--is passing through a crisis such that individuals are not learning and no one knows why.

I do not know if I agree with what our comrade said about the lack of an educational philosophy. That is very forceful. More likely what seems to be a lack of an educational philosophy is more than anything else is a reflection of the system in which we live, in which a conscious effort is made to maintain a low level of education because this maintains the class structure.

Lourdes Beltran: Expanding on what our comrade said, this is very clearly reflected in the growing capitalist economic crisis. Education is declining as the crisis augments, because the interests of the capitalists are much less served now by mass education. The capitalists need a labor force without education or awareness, while there is an elite moving ever farther away.

I would say superficially that the United States offers education to everyone, but this means nothing in terms of work. For example I work with Mexican children who have just arrived in the country where their parents are seeking jobs. These children do not have the same background or conditions in their homes, they do not eat or sleep as well, they do not have the help in their homes which a white child on another social level might receive. Thus beginning in the schools this inequality exists and develops there. And right now they are giving examinations at the sixth-grade level to see if children can continue with their education. This is ridiculous because they know these individuals are not prepared for this examination and the result is a clearer separation of the social classes, blocking those who could continue to improve.

Gutierrez Grenier: Everything is arranged such that the children from the middle class do better in school, while those from the lower classes or minority ethnic groups do worse. It is structured this way. Another thing is that the sense of cooperation is foreign to U.S. society and the schools contribute to this, developing individuality and showing no concern for others.

Now there are other subtle aspects, because the U.S. government has learned, beginning in the '70s, that the only way of calming the racial situation, that of the minorities in general, is to allow a group of them to have opportunities. And so they have created a quota system, that is to say a school cannot receive federal funds unless it accepts X number of blacks, Puerto Ricans, chicanos, etc--let us say 100, or 20. And there was a case very recently in which a white student was rejected by a medical school. In reality he was not accepted because his exam grades were rather low and also he was thirty-some years old, something seen there as meaning he is not very

productive, because he will contribute less to society than someone twenty-some years of age. But the argument presented to the Supreme Court was that he was excluded because he was white. The court ruled that quotas are unconstitutional but that minorities must be favored for moral reasons. What will develop on that basis is that since it is unconstitutional, no school will have to accept any member of a minority group in order to obtain federal funds.

Julio Cesar Diep: And when you have completed your studies, is work guaranteed?

Daisy Castro: I for example am completing my master's in educational psychology, and so far I have not found a job which satisfies me or really allows me to develop this potential and this education I acquired through great effort in school, and what I am doing is working as a secretary.

The talk continued and new questions were asked. Details about experiences in Spain, Venezuela, and Mexico. It was agreed that education serves the class interests of these societies, which reproduce the entire system with its marked class differences in the educational sector.

The subject of jobs and the opportunities offered to graduates came up again. In this sector, there are no guarantees. For example Grenier has not the slightest idea what he will do when he has his doctorate. Estrada knows that he will not find work as a sociologist. Daisy tells of a friend specializing in food chemistry who had an important job in Bolivia and decided to travel to the United States in search of new labor horizons. The result was, obviously, discrimination because he was a Latin American, when he set to work to clean up a laboratory in a milk plant, despite the fact that he is much more able even than his present superiors. Baizan is pursuing two courses of study, knowing that in one of them, history, he will not have the slightest opportunity to work because in his country this is a profession in which all are unemployed.

Julio Cesar Diep: And how do you think these problems can be resolved?

This question was met with sad smiles. Those of whom the question was asked feel a willingness to struggle but also impotence. These situations are shocking to and seem very remote from the young people in Pinar del Rio participating in this talk, almost all of whom grew up with the revolution. They do not know the meaning of the word insecurity and to them the future is clear. However, they too are pained by the situation outlined to them.

Miguel Estrada: The answer is that there must be a political change, that only under socialism can these problems be resolved. We have to overthrow capitalism, we know that, there is not the slightest doubt, but this struggle to overthrow capitalism in the United States or in other countries is a tremendous one and will take a long time.

The talk revolved then about the forms of struggle, the situation in Puerto Rico, the leftist trends in Spain and suddenly came back to the tasks of the Antonio Maceo Brigade itself.

Nardelis Sanchez: The example of the life of our comrade Carlos Muniz dramatizes these forms of struggle. Miguel has already said what we are going to do, but how . . . Because apart from our responsibilities in the countries in which we live, our struggle has another peculiar aspect, and that is that we are Cubans who have not rejected our heritage, and we are identified with the revolution and the raising of the blockade. We are also a part of this struggle which means spreading knowledge of the real situation in our native land not in the abstract but as an alternative and a confirmation for these people.

There were questions about solidarity with Nicaragua. A number of young brigade members explained that on this level, solidarity committees and activities are being organized in their countries by political parties and organizations.

Miguel de la Carrera asked how the students could express their disagreement with certain measures or decisions adopted by the government in our country.

The answer was not long in coming. The various institutional mechanisms established, the functioning of the mass organizations and the means of channeling concerns and preoccupations were explained, but above all, and here the information broadened, various comrades said that this is a revolution and a process undertaken and defended by all the people. There are shortcomings and errors are committed, and the peoples express their opinions of them through the people's government organs, and in the case of the students, through their organizations.

The dialog began to turn back to the Pinar del Rio students. What does it mean for them to be living and building a socialist society? Many wanted to respond. All of the answers agreed and came down to the fact that it is a source of pride to live in such a society, to be educated in it, to be trained in the principles which govern it.

Zoila Olivera Valdes: And how do you view the development of our youth?

Maria del Carmen Lopez: I work with young people between 11 and 15 in New York's Spanish Harlem, and I can tell you that the level of awareness the young people here have and their level of nationalism, their maturity and their knowledge came as a shock to me. I admire them greatly.

Lourdes Beltran: As a teacher I see that children are always the mirror of society. What one sees traveling in Mexico and elsewhere is that some children of five appear old, because they have a very hard life. And here it is the opposite, one sees a happiness in life, a sense of what the future is, that they are the future, with a great role to play in society.

Nardelis Sanchez: What impressed me most is your manner of being, living, creating.

Marco Tulio Paez: I am impressed by the awareness you have of the reality in which you live, the vision you have of the world and your future, the desire you have to work and improve.

The talk was coming to its end. Just before it finished Miguel Estrada spoke of the personal concern he felt because of a question from one of the students.

"Perhaps this needs no clarification, but I noticed that you hesitated a little about my fatherland, your fatherland, and also it was said that we left here. Comrades, we never left here, we were never taken away. We are very clear that this is our fatherland because you have taken the trouble to teach us in this way, and therefore, when we go to the countries where we live, we will struggle for our fatherland. We are very happy when we share with you, when we see this great effort and this great determination you have not only to carry the revolution forward in Cuba, but also your internationalist awareness. And that's all--except that we are very proud of you."

Caption for block of photographs to the left of text: 1--Lourdes Beltran, Los Angeles, 26, left at 7, kindergarten teacher; 2--Guillermo Grenier, Albuquerque, 27, left at 8, studying for doctorate in sociology; 3--Daisy Castro, Texas, 29, left at 16, studying educational psychology; 4--Nardelis Sanchez, Puerto Rico, 27, left at 14, pre-school teacher; 5--Fernando Balzan, Spain, 19, born there, studying economic science and history; 6--Miguel de la Carrera, Connecticut, 24, left at 5, will begin law studies; 7--Maria Elena Gonzalez, Boston, 22, left at 11, secretary and political science student; 8--Marco Tulio Paez, Venezuela, 22, born there, journalism student; 9--Maria del Carmen Lopez, New York, 26, left at 16, high-school teacher; 10--Adela San Vicente, Mexico, 19, born there, agronomy student; 11--Miguel Estrada, Miami (although he now lives in Oakland, California), 28, left at 10, unemployed and completing his thesis for a master's degree in sociology.

Captions for block of photographs to the right of text: 1--Zoila Olivera Valdes, 17, 11th grade; 2--Julio Cesar Diep, 24, teacher; 3--Zoe Mujica Valdes, 17, 11th grade; 4--Carlos Maragoto Rizo, 17, 11th grade; 5--Antonio R. Page Cruz, 17, 11th grade; 6--Edith Gonzalez Padrino, 16, 11th grade; 7--Rolando del Valle, 17, 11th grade; 8--Gustavo Matamoros, first secretary of the Municipal Committee of the UJC [Union of Young Communists] in Pinar del Rio; 9--Xiomara Rodriguez, 17, 11th grade; 10--Victor Pando Sanchez, 17, 11th grade.

Carlos Muniz Birthday Marked

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 10 Aug 79 p 2

[Article by Roger Ricardo Luis: "The 26th Anniversary of the Birth of Carlos Muniz"]

[Text] If the criminal hand of terrorism had not brutally snuffed out the light of Comrade Carlos Muniz Varela, he would have been celebrating his 26th birthday today in his native land with his comrades in the brigade.

He would also have been contributing his creative energy to the happy achievement of the goals set by this Second Contingent of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, of which he was one of the most active and enthusiastic promoters.

Just three days ago a primary school bearing his name was inaugurated in the Ariguanabo textile community. At that same site, a little more than a year and a half ago, Carlos Muniz took up the noble white hat of a construction worker as a member of the First Contingent of the 55 Brothers, contributing, as he said, "one grain of sand to the magnificent work of the revolution."

It is fitting on this day to report some of the words spoken by his sister Miriam at the ceremony held to inaugurate the school, giving a synthesis of the revolutionary personality of this young man who has been added to the list of martyrs to the fatherland.

"Carlos was a very quiet and obedient child and an excellent student. As an adolescent he worked a good deal to help with his expenses. He enjoyed reading, artistic activities, poetry, theatre.

"When he reached 18, he became an eminently political young person. From that age on he began to implement his concern about the independence of Puerto Rico. He participated in an intensive phase of student struggle and was elected secretary of the Pro-Independence University Youth for workers' affairs. This led him to very direct participation in the struggles of the Puerto Rican workers' class. Carlos took part in almost all the strike movements of that era.

"The work with 'Areito' and later with the brigade began gradually to occupy a priority role in his life, until, with the establishment of 'Viajes Varaderos,' he was completely committed to the process familiar to us all today: the struggle for the raising of the blockade, reunification of the families and travel by young people to Cuba with the Antonio Maceo Brigade.

"Working for all of this in such a terribly reactionary environment with the strong enemies our revolution has is difficult, and it cost Carlos his life. He knew of the risks and made the revolutionary choice, and it is for this reason that we remember him here today, and thus it will always be.

"The children who will be educated at this school must know that one of the greatest virtues Carlos had was his profoundly human quality, his tremendous sensitivity, evidenced in the care and attention he gave each human being, giving no importance to ideological differences or differences of views. It was for this reason that he could work so well with the Cuban community abroad.

"Today we accept and are consoled by the fact that Carlos gave his life for the best of causes, that of struggle for a better society, one which is more just and worthy of man.

"On this 26th anniversary of the birth of Carlos Muniz Varela, his entire people and his comrades in the brigade, imbued with the memory of him and the example he set, confirm the lines of our national anthem which say that "to die for the fatherland is to live."

Emigre Youth Brigade Institutionalization

Havana JUVENTUD REBELDE in Spanish 10 Aug 79 p 2

[Article by Eduardo Vergara and Sergio Colina]

[Text] The Antonio Maceo Brigade will announce today a draft document covering the aspects discussed at the work sessions which have been held here for the past three days, as the last stage in the tour being made by the Second Contingent in Cuba.

Raul Alzaga, a member of the National Committee of the brigade, said in a statement to the press that the current stage is of extreme importance to the brigade because it represents the institutionalization of this organization.

"The basic aspects of the political document we have been discussing during these days," he said, "have been approved. The assessment of the present contingent, as well as the bylaws of the BAM [Antonio Maceo Brigade], will also be discussed here.

"We decided that as a part of the activities of our contingent, we would hold a discussion here during the last days of our stay with the members of our organization and with applicants to the brigade, concerning what we have called the political program, which represents those points which link us both with the brigade in the United States and Puerto Rico and with the BAM in Venezuela, Mexico and Spain.

"The political goals," Alzaga went on to say, "were discussed by all the sub-brigades into which the contingent has been organized, such that now they will be taken to the National Committee, to be discussed on that level with a view to their incorporation in a final document to be approved within two months.

"We find ourselves in a stage of consolidation," he stressed, "from the point of view of brigade organization. To date we have been working with some very broad political goals and what we are trying to achieve in this stage of the life of our brigade is a clear definition of what our goals are, to establish bylaws and regulations by means of which the members of the organization can be governed.

"The reason this discussion is being pursued by all the members of the contingent," he went on to say, "is based on our desire that many of those who are here participating in the Second Contingent but who are not members of the BAM can have an opportunity to join the organization.

"At the conclusion of this process, which will come about within two months, it is possible that some individuals who are here will not belong to the organization, and this comes within the definition we have established on the basis of this contingent," he stressed.

"The contingent is yet another political activity within the brigade which enables us to reach a larger number of young people in broader fashion.

"When these two months have passed," the member of the National Committee said, "many of these individuals will be members, along with those who have been to date, and all of them together will approve the final document including the political program, the bylaws and regulations.

"The difference between the bylaws and the regulations lies in the fact that the former are all of those points which are common to all the brigades in the various countries. We define the regulations as those rules applying to each area in particular, due to the different real situations existing in each of the countries where we are organized.

"After the process of discussing and approving the final document, the Executive Committee of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, its National Committees and the base organization will be organized in documented fashion.

"Due to a lack of time, the regulations could not be drafted or presented to those present here, but they will be discussed, by areas, in the coming two months.

"The political document," Alzaga stressed, "includes other points, such as promoting closer relations between the Cuban community abroad and Cuba, recovering the cultural roots of our community, particularly in the youth sector, and working for the raising of the blockade imposed on Cuba by the U.S., as well as the normalization of relations between that country and ours.

"In the course of the discussion being pursued, other traditional goals may possibly arise, such as for example that the organization as such work against the terrorism developing in our communities," Alzaga concluded.

Meeting With African Students

Nueva Gerona--One of the most moving moments for the members of the Second Carlos Muniz Varela Contingent of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, in the course of their 48-hour stay on the Isle of Pines, was their friendly meeting in the afternoon with African students who are going to school in this special municipality.

At about 1500 hours, this group of young people representing the Cuban community abroad arrived at the school in Mengistu Haile Mariam Ethiopian Students' Camp, where they were enthusiastically welcomed.

After touring the facilities and learning about the operations and how the students live and work, they voiced words of praise for this type of school.

The Ethiopian students gave a brief performance reflecting their cultural heritage, while a group of Namibian students who survived the Kassinga massacre sang, among other numbers, a song about this horrible crime committed against the Namibian refugees, most of the victims being children.

Today, Friday, the young people will relax on the black sand beach, La Bibijagua, and then will visit the Colony Hotel. In the evening, a farewell ceremony will be held at the Jose Maceo IPUEC [Preuniversity Farming and Academic Institute], where they have been housed during their stay on the Isle of Pines.

Third Emigre Youth Brigade

Havana JUVENTUD REBELDE in Spanish 13 Aug 79 p 2

[Text] On leaving Cuba a year and a half ago, the First Contingent of the Antonio Maceo Brigade pledged to organize a second contingent.

The task was not easy and it cost the life of one of our most beloved comrades, Carlos Muniz Varela. Far from frightening us, as his assassins claimed, his death served to strengthen our commitment to Cuba and our determination to measure up to his example.

Today the Second Contingent of the B&M, dedicated to the memory of our fallen comrade, is complete. And this contingent is living proof of the achievements in this year and a half of work.

Our membership in the First Contingent has been multiplied by more than 13 times and has extended to 6 countries. We are consolidating an international organization, establishing our presence in the main Cuban communities abroad. We have built a contingent which truly represents Cuban youth abroad, expanding the bases of our young organization to include students, professional and other workers with various backgrounds and experience.

But the Second Contingent has achieved something more: we have established the structures and laid the foundations for the creation of a real movement of Cuban youth, dedicated to achieving greater closeness between the Cuban communities abroad and Cuba, recovering our cultural roots, combating the criminal blockade imposed upon our people, promoting the normalization of relations between the United States and Cuba, and improving relations between Cuba and the other countries in which we live.

Following the example of the fighters who forged our nation, those who won our real independence, those who gave their lives to create a more just and worthy fatherland, we will carry the message of national reunification to our communities and we will rally the best of our youth abroad for the strengthening of the historic bonds which link us with our fatherland.

The Antonio Maceo Brigade issues an appeal to its third contingent, which will continue the tradition we have already established next summer.

We urge the young people in our communities to join in our effort to become a part of the history of our people again.

A year and a half ago we promised to recover the sons who had departed for the fatherland. Today our commitment is firmer than ever and our greatest desire is to conduct ourselves always as worthy representatives of the best traditions of the struggle of our people, wherever we may be.

Eternal glory to the memory of Carlos Muniz!

Long live the Second Contingent of the BAM!

Long live Cuba!

Emigre Youth Impressions Published

Havana JUVENTUD REBELDE in Spanish 14 Aug 79 pp 1, 4

[Article by Juan Carlos Martínez: "Toward the Revolution With Our Feet on the Ground"]

[Text] Many of the members of the Second Carlos Muniz Varela Contingent of the Antonio Maceo Brigade have already returned to their usual routines in the countries where they live. Many recall the month they spent in Cuba nostalgically, the reunion with their fatherland after so many years of absence. Many have more fully come to grips with its reality now, after having shared the life of their people, from whom they were taken as children or adolescents, for a few days. Here too we will remember them and share their nostalgia. The active work which has been promised in order to organize a real movement of young people in the Cuban communities in the United States, Puerto Rico, Mexico, Spain and Venezuela, where the structures and bases have been established, will be a major incentive to their tasks, and a goad in the preparations for the third contingent. We describe here the last impressions of a group of these young people, their assessment of what they saw and experienced in our fatherland.

I knew almost none of these young people. I saw them at a distance, somewhat apart. I felt somewhat excluded from the group during the first hours I spent with the members of the Second Carlos Muniz Varela Contingent of the Antonio Maceo Brigade.

Then, during a theatrical performance at the camp--given by the New York group--I heard a poem written by one of the brigade members. It jolted me: it spoke of the revolution, of how the perception of this phenomenon had given a young woman, previously empty and uprooted, the certainty of her roots on this earth.

Then there began in me a process of conscious rapprochement with these young Cubans who, after long years of struggle with themselves and against a hostile environment, have turned their eyes toward the fatherland, their people and their revolution.

After 17 days of intensive travel to four provinces and the Isle of Pines, and only two days away from their departure from Cuba, we met with seven of these young people on the black sands of the beach at La Bibijagua. We asked them not so much to talk with us as to speak aloud about what this closer approach to the revolution had meant in their lives, how they had seen the Cuban reality, what this trip had brought them in terms of personal convictions and ideas.

Sincerely, free of bias and in the certainty given them by knowing themselves to be among comrades in the same cause, each set forth his views. There was not a single moment of hesitation in the almost two hours our discussion lasted. We all had "our feet on the ground."

An Absolute Change

"Coming face to face with the revolution absolutely changed me." This statement was made by Felix Roberto in the midst of his account of how he had proceeded in search of the truth, avoiding the avalanche of misinformation and slander put forth about Cuba.

Despite the fact that he left the country at the age of 12, in 1961, Felix was already beginning in the next 3 or 4 years to understand, basically from the few books which reached his hands, that something real was happening on the other side.

"The process is very difficult, above all if one is growing up in an atmosphere like that in Miami, where I live. The hostility against the revolution is very great. Many of my friends at 25 or 26 years of age still believe in all of these inventions about Cuba and do not want to see the truth. They are afraid of realizing that up to now they have been mistaken. It is very difficult, and it was for me too, but each individual must face it. Many do not want to accept it, it is like a defense mechanism."

Someone commented that it is not only a psychological defense, but that this attitude also conceals a class position.

Luis Rumbaut, who had come with the two brigade contingents from Washington, took up the thread of the conversation and expressed his view.

"For the people in exile, the revolution was the axis on the basis of which their lives changed. Thus, on a first level, and passively, it was a definitive factor in the lives of all of us, and our parents--favorable or unfavorable, but never neutral.

"On the other hand, I believe that it also has a significance which is realized bit by bit, but consciously. This is the understanding that Cuba is the alternative we have been seeking since our earlier days, since our links with the radical political movement in the United States itself. At least I was greatly helped in this sense, as a political fighter there. One needs a support to keep him in action, something real, palpable and achievable."

A Critical View

Guy Enrique Saint-Cyr, tall, florid, a fluent talker in his Mexican accent and very observant, was taken away from Cuba at seven. He talked of his experience, the need to know at first hand what was happening in his native land from which he was taken by force, and to discover that this country is the spearhead, the historical example, in Latin America. He told of his impressions on seeing a regular army in the service of the workers' class, defending the interests of the people, for the first time. And the children too, the early development of their social awareness, this learning to be useful beings from the time they are small.

But he pointed out an aspect of which no mention had yet been made.

"I think it is important that we view the revolution critically, that we be neither dogmatic nor awed, that we appreciate the achievements but can also see what remains to be done, what we can contribute."

In this connection he said that the work with the contingents enabled him to achieve an overall view, wider in scope, of the revolutionary process, but he feels the need for broader contact with the people, to know of their concerns, their worries, what they think about some of the material limitations or shortcomings in services, "for," he said, "theoretically socialism liberates productive forces, but in practice I see that in some branches it is necessary to raise the level of awareness of the masses further."

As a journalist, I made my first comment, telling Enrique that although socialism establishes the foundations for liberating and developing the productive forces, and not in theory alone, as well as the awareness of the people, it must be understood that neither of these things can be developed by decree. This is a long and complex process, in which many objective and subjective factors play a role. The important thing is to understand that only socialism can give society a real potential for achieving this uninterrupted growth of the productive forces and higher levels of social awareness. We all agreed on this.

The Family and Assessing Reality

Jorge Capote might have been a priest. He was studying for the priesthood when he left Cuba in 1961, at the age of 19. However, he is now a mature man, tempered in the heat of the struggle of the Puerto Rican people and his links with the Cuban revolution from the small sister island where he lives.

As he had indeed had an opportunity to spend more time with his family there in Vertientes, and to talk at length with dozens of friends, neighbors and members of his family, he wanted to clear up any doubts the other comrades might have.

"For me it has been very clear that the people are aware of the limitations which exist, in housing, in transportation, etc, and that they fully understand it. However little political development an individual may have, he understands the importance of the revolutionary process, of this whole movement to develop the country. I have even talked with Christians who see the process as something valid, as a need for all the people, and they feel themselves to be a part of this struggle.

"In this sense the trip has been very enlightening. I did not come in search of convictions on political principle, I brought them with me, but they have deepened, have been confirmed, in experiencing first-hand how rational, how profoundly revolutionary the revolution is."

"In this connection I share the comrade's feelings," said Obdulia Ferrer. "I left in 1961, when I was in 14, and it has been very moving for me to return to that neighborhood and see how everyone has developed so much, so positively. This is what has impressed me most during this visit to Cuba--the high cultural and political level the people have reached. I value this greatly after having lived for 16 years in the United States and 1 in Venezuela, where the situation is so deplorable."

Something New But Familiar

If anyone can be identified by his beautiful and open smile, it is Ricardo Beltran from Los Angeles, who until a short time ago was almost "assimilated" by U.S. society, and who after long and careful contemplation decided to speak.

"I am something like evidence of the importance of the work of this brigade, because before I was affiliated with it I was rather fragmented as an individual and a political person. Although I had begun to affiliate with American political movements, I could never function within them, I did not feel comfortable. This was a cultural environment which was foreign to me, and that paralyzed me politically. I had not rationalized the Cuban revolution yet within myself, I did not believe in all the bad things which were said but neither did I believe in the good ones. This was something I did not

want to face. And I set it aside in a corner of myself for years. After the first two meetings with the brigade it was like an incredible release, psychologically, emotionally and politically.

"I felt that I was better integrated as a person and that I had found a place in society. This shows the importance of doing things collectively, because alone I could never have come to understand what Cuba was, what the revolution was.

"What has impressed me most is the collective feeling of this people. The warmth and the love they showed us was something I yearned for so much. When I returned, the greatest shock to me was precisely that there was no great shock. I thought I would feel as if I were in Persia. I had prepared myself for that, to face a completely alien reality. After one day in Cuba I saw that nothing was happening to me, that this was something new but familiar to the more human and more important senses."

After Ricardo spoke, Belkis Montes of Boston also decided to voice her views. She began slowly, in almost a whisper. Later, she almost blocked the others from speaking. The fact is that this dark woman with the honest, nostalgic gaze, who loves what is Cuban intensely and who does not conceal her sorrow at living far from it, is a very special case.

"I experienced part of the revolutionary process, for I left 10 years ago. When I reached the United States I realized that the revolution is the most beautiful thing a people can undertake. There I faced double discrimination: because I was black and because I was a Latin. Back in Cuba now, I have been able to see again how different everything is, that there is no distinction because of skin color, that everyone is equal. I can see that in 20 years the country has advanced greatly, that the people have a very great awareness, that the revolution is very impressive."

Then Belkis told of her memories: the miserable room she shared with her mother before the January triumph and the constant threats of eviction, the 30 pesos the old woman earned in wages, the many nights when there was not a mouthful to eat, the walk from Tulipan to the Vedado Institute, her work as a servant in order to be able to buy textbooks, the constant contempt to which she was subjected because of being black. She remembered and compared the abysmal difference 20 years has meant.

"I now see what the revolution has done and I can say nothing other than that it is the most beautiful thing a country can do to change society, everything.

"I left against my will. It was my husband's decision, with which I went along, but it was not what I felt. I had learned to read and write, I had joined in the revolutionary struggle and I was content. I remember the place where I learned to read and write, Mayari Arriba. There was nothing there, the peasants lived in the worst of conditions. A few days ago, when the contingent visited that sector, people said to me, 'Belkis, we are in

Mayari.' I looked at that beauty, that new town, and I exclaimed, 'I do not know where I am.'

"Never in the many years of the republic did any government do what this revolutionary government has done, never!"

More Discussion

Naturally, this was not the last thing said. The impressions from the preceding day, when the contingent had met with African children and young people studying at modern schools on the Isle of Pines, were still fresh. It was natural, therefore, that there would also be talk of the internationalist spirit of the Cuban people, the specific dimensions of the word solidarity, the true and real humanist content of the revolution.

When noon came we said goodbye. As I watched the young people, now forever close to me, move away, I remembered the revealing poem by Tony Gandolf, the Cuban girl from New York:

They
the true
the authentic Cubans
taught me
that the Revolution
is not a dream
but rather
sweat
and work
sweat and work
smiles
of children
on their way to school
smiles
of the perspiring
worker
cooperation of comrade
with
comrade
and more work.
The Revolution
is a very long task.
I was surprised
one fine day
in the afternoon
at noon
in the moonlit night
surrounded by stars
murmuring of
tremendous things

I had never before imagined.
Before this discovery
I was
a dreamer
now
I have my feet on the ground.
I am safe!

U.S. Labor Union Members

Havana JUVENTUD REBELDE in Spanish 16 Aug 79 p 2

[Article by Luis Hernandez Serrano: "With 38 American Trade Union Members"]

[Text] The first delegation of ordinary workers from the United States to visit the country since the triumph of the revolution, made up of 38 individuals, returned home recently after a week's stay in the capital, during which they visited productive facilities in the 2 Havana provinces.

This was a group of base trade union members or activists from various labor centers in a number of towns in the states of New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts and California.

The brigade, whose trip was sponsored by the Cuban Studies Center in New York, was headed by the founder of the Venceremos (We Will Triumph) Brigade, Julie Nichamin, a woman of about 30, tall, dynamic and cheerful, paying her 7th visit to our country, having first come here in 1968.

Some 15 trade unions in light and heavy industry, services and the public administration were represented in the delegation, both by young members 23 and 24 years old and by older workers of up to 64. They were not only U.S. citizens by birth, but included some born in Latin America--Mexico, Puerto Rico, Argentina and other countries--who have been living in the United States for many years.

As Julie, the leader of the group, explained, an effort was made to select a group of workers who would be generally representative of the heterogeneous nature of the workers' class in the United States.

The main goal sought by the delegation was to establish relations on the base level between the trade union movement in the United States and that in Cuba, such that this could serve to facilitate an effort of solidarity with Cuba within the U.S. workers' class which has successfully organized.

The trip was planned in an atmosphere of great enthusiasm. A national committee was appointed as well as committees in various cities to organize the project, recruit members and collect the funds necessary to realize the concept in fact. These funds came basically from contributions from each worker and activities pursued to this end.

Concerning the importance of this first experiment, Julie said that the Cuban Studies Center had organized trips to Cuba for professional workers, students, and individuals in other sectors, but never for rank and file workers, that is to say workers at the base level or ordinary trade union members.

"On our return to our residential areas," she said, "we plan to begin to organize another base level trade union delegation to make another trip in 1980. In addition, we will make every effort to begin now to talk of the reality in Cuba, the lifting of the blockade and the reestablishment of relations with your country."

Their Views

"We have to wage a considerable and constant battle in the United States to win the most basic human rights," said Rashida Abdu, 27, a worker in a Philadelphia telephone company.

"However," she explained, "everything I have been able to see here is the reverse. Human rights are guaranteed both for the workers and for the students, peasants, children, etc."

William Robertson, 55, representing the transportation trade union, one of the largest in the United States, argued that the Cuban workers have in their hands "the most precious thing--security regarding life." And he added: "What the people receive here is much greater than what is available in my country. There it is difficult to win as many benefits as those provided in Cuba for the workers."

"The most impressive thing I have seen is the level of political awareness the people have, from a simple worker through the professional people and even including the children," said Jeffrey F. Sheahan, 24, a worker at a meat-packing plant in Boston.

"When I return," he said, "I will explain that the interests of the workers here are the same as the interests of the government in the United States, i.e. society, a situation which does not exist there."

Roberto Flotte, who was born in Mexico and has lived for a number of years in the United States, represented the workers in the food retailing, storage and packing industry in San Francisco. He commented: "What you are doing in Cuba is formidable. Children 9 and 10 years old talk of things one would never imagine, and it is a wonderful thing that a peasant, for example, has hospital care, schooling, housing and guaranteed wages in the cooperative. This represents an honest level of living."

Puerto Rican Prisoner Interviewed

Havana BOHEMIA in Spanish 24 Aug 79 pp 50-55

[Interview with Puerto Rican prisoner Rafael Cancel Miranda in Marion, Illinois, prison; date not indicated]

[Text] Rafael Cancel Miranda, who along with Lolita Lebron, Irving Flores and Andres Figueroa Cordero carried out an armed action at the Capitol in Washington, is still in prison in the United States. From the penitentiary in Marion, Illinois, this patriot, who has spent more years in prison than at liberty, has sent to BOHEMIA his message of solidarity with the Sixth Summit Meeting of Nonaligned Countries and the people of Cuba, coinciding with the 25th anniversary of his imprisonment by the Yankee authorities.

An Exceptional Greeting

"I hail the Cuban people and all the peoples represented at this Conference of Nonaligned Countries. As a Puerto Rican I am gratified by the militant support of all of you for the struggle of the Puerto Rican people for their national liberation, and it is my hope that some day we Puerto Ricans will be represented among you as a free and sovereign country and as one of the nonaligned countries. Thank you, and long live the sovereignty of all the peoples of the world!"

Rafael Cancel Miranda

Introduction

It can be said beyond a doubt that the Yankee authorities have thrown the book at patriot Rafael Cancel Miranda, perhaps because he was one of the youngest participants in that patriotic action undertaken at the Capitol in Washington, and further because he has become an active leader for prisoners' rights. In addition to spending extensive periods in uninterrupted solitary confinement at Leavenworth, he was further subjected to 26 months of confinement in a special "behavior modification" unit at the prison in Marion, Illinois, along with 100 other prisoners, as a reprisal for a peaceful work strike in protest against the brutal beating of a prisoner by the guards.

Although 70 percent of those in this unit were released from solitary confinement, the prison officials refused to do the same with Cancel Miranda. Only following a court order establishing that the prisoners had been submitted to cruel and unusual punishment were the patriot Miranda and the other prisoners released from this "behavior modification" unit, where they were kept without access to their personal belongings and deprived of exercise and sanitary facilities.

As a part of the U.S. government policy, the prison officials imposed harshly discriminatory and repressive measures with regard to the rights of the Puerto Rican nationalist patriots to receive visitors, mail and periodicals.

In May of 1976 a special regulation at the Marion prison was announced, requiring that the wife of Comrade Cancel Miranda, who had been visiting him for more than two decades, would have to undergo a degrading examination, stripped naked, each time she wished to visit him. In July of 1972, after traveling from Puerto Rico to Marion, Illinois, she found that she could only talk with her husband for one hour, provided a prison guard was stationed with them. During a later visit she was separated from her husband by a glass window, such that they could only communicate by means of a telephone.

When the family of one of the patriots came from Puerto Rico to visit the prisoners, they were allowed to see only that prisoner to whom they were related. For example the daughter of Oscar Collazo (who participated in the incident at the White House) was refused permission to see Irving Flores or Lolita Lebron, to prevent her from taking news to their families and friends on her return to Puerto Rico.

Even priests and lawyers were refused the right to visit, or those visits were limited selectively and illegally. Catholic Bishop Monseigneur Parrilla, a prestigious priest in Puerto Rico who is a friend of the families of the patriots, was refused permission to see Cancel Miranda. Moreover, when Bishop Parrilla visited Collazo and Flores, he was allowed to see them for only 15 minutes in the office of the prison warden, with the requirement that he speak in English, although he is a Spanish-speaking prelate.

However BOHEMIA was able to talk with Rafael Cancel Miranda at the prison, and is transmitting his message from there to the people of Cuba and the Movement of Nonaligned Countries. The list of questions drafted for Cancel Miranda by Reinaldo Penalver was taken to him by a correspondent for our periodical.

The Interview

A quarter of a century of confinement has left no mark on the physique, much less the will, of this man who went to prison very young. He was only 24 when the pages of the world newspapers carried his youthful picture, along with that of Lolita Lebron and the other Puerto Rican patriots who participated in the armed protest against the Congress of the United States.

Twenty-five years later, we went to meet him to learn first-hand what his life has been like during these years surrounded by enemies who have kept him in maximum-security prisons in the United States, in isolation from his comrades and the outer world.

It was not an easy task to break through the circle of imperialist repression to gain access to the prison in Marion, a small U.S. town located in the southernmost part of the state of Illinois, regarded as one of the cradles of reactionary and racist feeling in the American Middle West. But the effort made was more than rewarded when we won the opportunity to reiterate

to him the fact, with which he is familiar, that we Cubans have not forgotten him and that we love his cause, and to express our active solidarity with the struggle of his beloved Puerto Rico for independence and sovereignty.

This unexpected encounter with Cuba in a Yankee prison moved him such that his black eyes moistened slightly, and perhaps in order to conceal his emotion, he picked up a copy of BOHEMIA, which survived the regulation check unnoticed, and leafed through it with a slight tremor in his hand. Then, he wrote out on a sheet of paper a greeting to the Sixth Summit Meeting of Nonaligned Countries and to the people of Cuba, a country in which he lived many years ago--28 to be exact. However, he recalled his brief stay in our sister Caribbean country "as if it were yesterday," because these memories are linked with the early years of his youth and his launching as a revolutionary. Therefore, for him to speak of Cuba, he must go back to the early years of his youth.

As if involved in the haze of memory, Cancel "traveled" in the world of fantasy, from the prison where he is being held to his native Mayaguez, where he first saw the light of day on 18 July 1930.

"I was born in one of the neighborhoods inhabited by my people," he told us with marked pride. "From childhood I knew what Puerto Rican nationalism was. My father was a nationalist leader and through him I came to know all the other nationalists of the 1930s, '40s and '50s. Some of them died subsequently in the Ponce Massacre in 1937," he said with sadness.

Then he recalled that many of those on whose knees he had sat departed with his father to participate in the events in the city of Ponce, only to return in pine boxes lined with black velvet.

"I remember that my first act of protest was a day or two after the massacre, at the primary school I was attending. They wanted me to swear allegiance to the American flag and I refused. I was sent out of the classroom. This was the first time this had happened to me. Throughout my years as a student I was sent out many times more for defending the Puerto Rican cause."

With no change in the low tone of his voice, born of many years of close surveillance in prison, he recalled that he was very well acquainted with Don Pedro Albizu Campos, Dona Isabelita Rosario, Torres Medina and many other patriots who participated in the 1950 revolution.

"In a word, I grew up in an environment of struggle and I had the opportunity or privilege from very early youth of knowing what people grow old and die without ever understanding: the situation and reality in Puerto Rico."

Continuing with the story of his youth, Cancel told us about the first time he was arrested by the FBI in October of 1948, while en route from his home to the Badorioty de Castro school where he was pursuing higher studies.

"I remember that I gave my books to a friend and told him: 'Take these for me. I will not be back.' The FBI arrested me then because I refused to serve in the invading army of the U.S. in Korea.

"That night I slept in the La Princesa prison. Then they took me to court for judgment. I was sentenced to two years and one day, which I served in the Yankee federal prison in Tallahassee, Florida."

Trip to Cuba

He continued, explaining that on leaving prison he married the woman who is today the mother of his two sons. But his happiness was not to last long, for a few days after his wedding the U.S. authorities again insisted that he must serve in the Yankee army or go back to prison. It was on this occasion that leaving Puerto Rico became the only option for Candel Miranda. Where should he go? The decision he made in haste was to go to Cuba.

"I lived in Cuba for some 14 months. The FBI did not know where I was at that time. I had become a fugitive from the so-called Yankee justice."

[Question] When did you arrive in Cuba?

[Answer] I reached that sister island during the period when Carlos Prío Socarras was president. If I remember rightly it was in June of 1951. I began to work as a day laborer on the Almendares River tunnel project in the city of Havana. One night while I was working, Batista's coup d'état occurred, and I also remember that my comrades at work commented that "we went to bed with Prío and woke up with Batista." This was the 10 March 1952 coup.

[Question] How do you happen to remember that date?

[Answer] It is because a few months after Batista seized power, the police arrested me and another Puerto Rican in exile with me, Reinaldo Trillas Martínez, and they put us in the Tiscornia prison. A few days later they deported us both, Reinaldo to Miami and me by direct plane to Puerto Rico, without any formal deportation process.

[Question] What crimes did Batista's ruffians charge you with?

[Answer] They began to accuse us of various things, even conspiring against Batista. We knew that the U.S. embassy had found us and was asking for us. In addition I had been so unwise as to write an article for a Havana journal in commemoration of the nationalist revolt of 30 October 1950.

[Question] What happened when you reached Puerto Rico?

[Answer] When I reached Puerto Rico I was able to hide for 20 days. I lived incognito on a beach until they arrested me. When I got out of prison

I went to New York, where I arrived at Christmastime, 1952, along with my pregnant wife and my older son. There I worked to organize the nationalist councils, particularly that in Brooklyn. I participated in the various activities to promote Puerto Rican independence.

I remember that on that occasion I went to the UN to present the Puerto Rican case, for in those years, the Americans did indeed control that international organization, and their propaganda was designed to represent the Puerto Ricans as "happy slaves." They wanted to make the world believe that we were satisfied to be a colony. This was what led me to participate in the incidents of 1 March 1954, because it was necessary to make the world see that we Puerto Ricans were not only unwilling to be a colony but also ready to die for our freedom.

The Events of 1 March

At this point in the conversation, we had the opportunity to hear from the lips of Cancel Miranda his account of the events which echoed around the world on that grey afternoon of 1 March 1954. Journalistic curiosity took over and a spate of questions flowed like an irreversible torrent.

"I can tell you that as far as I know, and I know considerable about the matter," Cancel Miranda told us, "many of the individuals imprisoned because of these events had nothing to do with them. Many, or almost all, were charged because they were sympathizers with the nationalist cause. Only four of us--Lolita, Irving, Andres and I--knew about this matter and were responsible for it."

Cancel Miranda recalled that many statements were made in the court hearings held which were not true, and that two days before the event he had traveled to Washington to study the scene.

"We bought one-way tickets only, because we did not expect to leave the capital alive."

After a pause to organize his thoughts, the Puerto Rican patriot said that he was the last to leave the gallery during the shooting.

"I thought they were shooting at me, and it was just then that my ammunition ran out. I bent down behind a seat to change the magazine in my pistol, and that is where they seized me."

The Conspirators' Plan

Asked about whether they intended to kill a large number of U.S. congressmen or whether it was meant to be a symbolic act to influence world public opinion, Cancel Miranda answered as follows:

"My brother, if we had intended to kill, we could have wiped out the whole Capitol. We would only have needed to throw a couple of grenades, don't you see? Our expectation was to die rather than to kill. What we wanted to do was to focus attention."

[Question] How did the four of you get together? Did you know each other before?

[Answer] Irving and I grew up together. Although he was born in Cabo Rojo, he grew up in Mayaguez. He was one of those who worked with me on the radio program called "Grito de la Patria" (Cry of the Fatherland). We traveled through the towns of Puerto Rico organizing young people.

I met Andres, as well as Lolita, in New York.

[Question] What were your political ideas at that time?

[Answer] I was very religious. Now I am not so much so. I was Catholic. At one time I thought of being a priest, but two things got in my way. One was that I was very involved in my country's struggle for independence, and the other was that I was much in love.

[Question] Why did you want to be a priest?

[Answer] Because from the time I was small I indentified strongly with the poor and I believed that if I were a priest I could help them. When I was 15 I undertook to teach the children of the beggars. I established a little school. But later I realized that by struggling for the independence of Puerto Rico and forging a better social system in which there would be neither oppressors nor oppressed I could also help them.

[Question] What is your present political ideology?

[Answer] My political position is the same as always. Puerto Rico is a colony and I am struggling for its independence. No slave is able to forge his own future. First Puerto Rico must be master of its fate in order to be able to change it. In other words, so long as the enemy--the U.S. government and the interests which control it--can manipulate Puerto Rico, we will not have the power to decide what the system which will govern us in the future will be. A slave cannot make decisions.

The first thing for me is independence. When Puerto Rico is free, I will preach socialism to the people. I see what capitalism is--children 10 years old, 34,000 of them according to the statistics, are committing acts of violence in this country, and thousands and thousands are committing suicide. Therefore I do not believe in capitalism.

[Question] Your present ideology then is Puerto Rican nationalism?

[Answer] Precisely. This does not mean that those who believe in socialism now have no right to say that this is what would suit them best. Every Puerto Rican has the right to do this. But if you ask me what my ideology would be if Puerto Rico were free, I repeat that it would be socialism I would preach to the people.

[Question] How do you view the process of struggle for independence in your country?

[Answer] I recognize that the struggle is long and hard, that we are not fighting a weak enemy. The enemy is powerful and not only controls Puerto Rico in a military, political and economic way, but psychologically as well. In other words, we know that they have captured the minds of thousands of Puerto Ricans, which can happen to anyone, given the situation existing in my country. We know that the struggle is hard but that victory is possible. It is not easy. Perhaps many more of us will die before seeing Puerto Rico free. I do not know if I will be one of those who will die, but I will struggle. It would be a different thing to resign oneself to living as slaves, some call it "colonialism," but it is the same thing as being a slave.

Currently many thousands of Puerto Ricans are more aware than I was when I was taken prisoner. Today the movements of struggle for independence--the more radical ones--are much larger. We also have Puerto Ricans within the United States who are a part of our force for struggle.

[Question] Do you believe you will win your freedom?

[Answer] I do not believe or disbelieve. I wait. I know that my people are struggling and that other peoples too are struggling for our release. The struggle is being waged to free us. When will we get out? This will depend on the desires of the U.S. government. They will decide this. But the important thing is that the people continue to struggle.

[Question] What plans do you have if you are released?

[Answer] To continue the struggle. In whatever way the situation and the circumstances require.

[Question] Haven't these 25 years in prison exhausted you?

[Answer] No, for it is not a question of being exhausted. A man can never tire of struggling for what he truly believes, because this would not be exhaustion but surrender. The only way in which I could cease to struggle is to cease to believe, and I still believe.

[Question] What is your view of the attitude of Governor Carlos Romero Barcelo, who opposes your release?

[Answer] This was to be expected. Romero Barcelo represents the negation of what is Puerto Rican. He is the opposite of what we represent. He has been assimilated. Barcelo knows that four of us with sidearms cannot do much. They have an abundance of weapons. The problem of his opposing our release is something else.

You see, brother, what is at stake here is something different. Our release from prison as we have demanded it would be a triumph for the Puerto Rican people and for our right to be what we must be, because we do not recognize U.S. citizenship. Romero Barcelo knows this and so do the Yankees. We represent for him the same thing as the Puerto Rican flag, our people's spirit of struggle for freedom. He has degraded himself to the level of a lackey and we are the exact opposite. Thus we are opposing forces. This is the reason for his hatred of us. Barcelo is to me just another of the many lackeys we have had.

[Question] Do you believe that Puerto Rico can survive as a republic?

[Answer] I have not the slightest doubt of this. The question is a different one: how can Puerto Rico survive under Yankee domination? For the situation existing currently in my country is very difficult. The unemployment level is extraordinary, with more than 70 percent of Puerto Ricans living on food stamps.

This is not because we Puerto Ricans do not have natural assets or do not know how to produce, but is because those who have been in command since 1898 are the American corporations which take out thousands of millions every year in profits.

[Question] What has imprisonment meant for you?

[Answer] In prison I have learned to know the enemy better. I have come to understand certain characteristics of the enemy with which I was not familiar.

I should make it clear what I mean when I speak of the "enemy." When I came here I regarded everything the United States represented as the "enemy." Now it is different. I have realized that millions of U.S. citizens have nothing to do with Puerto Rico and do not even know where it is located geographically. I have friends who are U.S. citizens whom I regard as highly as the best Puerto Ricans.

[Question] How is your health?

[Answer] I feel strong as a bull. I am not letting idleness kill me. They say that this is what is deadly in prison. I keep working and exercising, above all weight-lifting. I have just reached the age of 49.

[Question] What is your view of the Cuban revolution?

[Answer] I have a positive view. I know what Cuba was before. I recall very clearly what Cuba was in 1952. In Cuba, my brother, you could not walk a block without being whistled at. When you stopped to investigate it proved to be a "baby" engaged in prostitution.

I worked with poor people on the public projects in Cuba and I visited their homes. They were huts of wood or even of cardboard, for on that sister island it was the parasites who ruled. Now the people rule. Now little girls who would in the past perhaps have ended up prostitutes because of the social situation are pursuing careers.

The most impressive picture I retain of Cuba dates back 26 years. One day I was walking along the Havana waterfront with my wife and I said to her: "If anyone makes an improper proposal, go on to the house and I will take care of it." In other words, to the U.S. marines, all the women of Havana were prostitutes. They regarded Cuba as the whorehouse of America. This suited the parasites, certain individuals.

I remember that in that era one had to have money to gain access to a professional career. Nowadays I know it is not the same.

I have not been in the new Cuba, but I do know what Cuba was before. Some time ago I saw a picture of some Cuban women in militia uniform standing guard in front of the U.S. embassy and I thought: "Let the marines try to insult and humiliate them now. There is dignity there."

I respect Cuba to the point that I would be ready to give my life for the Cuban revolution, just as I am ready to give it for the revolution in Nicaragua or the independence of my country.

In my view, Cuba was what Puerto Rico is now. Now dignity is seen and reflected in the Cuban citizens. I trust and hope that one day the same will be true in my country, that it will be free and sovereign.

What Happened 25 Years Ago

No one could imagine that the three men and one woman with definite Latin features who took balcony seats quietly in the gallery of the House of Representatives in the Capitol in Washington would be the protagonists in a protest against a precarious situation which, a quarter of a century later, would still prevail, although rejected by millions of freedom- and democracy-loving men and women throughout the world--the colonial status of the sister island of Puerto Rico.

It was on 1 March 1954 at 1430 hours, and a group of U.S. congressmen were debating a draft law authorizing the hiring of Mexican day laborers. Minutes earlier, Joseph Martin, presiding over the House, had inaugurated the session after establishing a quorum based on the regulation role call.

Suddenly shots rang out in the gallery located just above the speaker's platform. For a few moments amazement and confusion prevailed among those present in the House. It took both the legislators and the spectators a few seconds to realize what had actually happened, and then some representatives fell, wounded by the bullets. Then shouts of panic mixed with the peculiar sound of scurrying feet could be heard.

In the gallery from which the shots had come someone unfurled a Puerto Rican flag, and in the midst of the clamor and the confusion, an explanatory cry rang out: "Long live free Puerto Rico!"

When the smoke had cleared and order was reestablished, four Puerto Rican nationalists had been arrested. Five of the U.S. legislators had been wounded, one of them seriously.

On being questioned by the U.S. authorities, those taken into custody explained without equivocation that their purpose had been to make their protest known to the 10th Inter-American Conference which was being held at that time in Caracas, "because the colonial question is being debated there," as one of them said.

A short time later they were sentenced to the harsh penalty of life imprisonment after a heavily biased trial, and the names of the patriots Lolita Lebron, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irving Flores and Andres Figueroa Cordero were engraved forever on the glorious pages of the heroic struggle of this brotherly people which yearns to be free and sovereign.

5157

CSO: 3010

CUBA

SCHOOLS TURNED OVER TO JAMAICA; MANLEY PRAISES GESTURE

Havana International Service in Spanish 1800 GMT 16 Sep 79 PA

[Text] Two modern schools with dormitories which will house 500 students each were turned over by Cuba to the Jamaican Government during a ceremony attended by Prime Minister Michael Manley and Levi Parah, minister president of the State Committee for Construction. Ulises Estrada, Cuban ambassador to Jamaica, stressed in the event that the two schools, built by Cuban and Jamaican workers, are a further indication of what can be accomplished with the cooperation between two sister nations which have common goals and leaders such as Michael Manley and Fidel Castro, tireless workers for social justice.

Manley praised the quality and beauty of the two schools, describing them as monuments to revolutionary solidarity. The imperialists, the prime minister recalled, came to Jamaica to steal from, oppress and exploit our people, but you Cuban brothers come to build and, for this reason, our people will be eternally grateful. He advocated the deepening of the existing ties of friendship and cooperation between the two countries and warned that no imperialist maneuver could divide the people of Jamaica and Cuba.

One of the schools will be used by the John Foster Institute to train physical education teachers and the other will be used by the Gaby Maceos Junior High Farm School. The latter school will combine academic training with agricultural tasks, a method already in use at the Jose Marti School donated by Cuba to Jamaica in 1976.

80: 3010

BRIEFS

ENGINEERING GRADUATES--Julio Camacho Aguilera, member of the Central Committee secretariat and first secretary of the PCC in Havana City, has expressed his satisfaction in a letter for the first graduation of civil engineers in Pinar del Rio. The letter written to Ricardo Abreu, rector of the Pinar del Rio University Center, states that Pinar del Rio now harvests the fruits of their efforts in the educational front and he calls on the graduates to every day become more proficient in their specialties and to be examples of revolutionary modesty and loyalty. [Text] [Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1000 GMT 18 Sep 79 FL]

CAMAGUEY CULTURE HOUSE--The Culture House in Florida, Camaguey Province was inaugurated on Tuesday, 18 September, at which Armando Hart Davalos, member of the PCC Central Committee politburo and minister of culture, spoke. Hart congratulated the PCC and people's government at the municipal and provincial level for their decisive support which permitted the opening of the installation and emphasized the work done by workers who achieved a beautiful project. [Text] [Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1000 GMT 19 Sep 79 FL]

YUGOSLAVIAN SPORTS COOPERATION--Belgrade--Cuba and Yugoslavia have signed a sports cooperation protocol for 1980 which includes friendly meetings and exchange of technicians and scientific information. The agreement was signed in the city of Split by Fabio Ruiz, vice president of the Cuban Institute of Sports, Physical Education and Recreation, and Milan Ercegan, vice president of the Yugoslav Federation of Physical Culture, the sports included in the protocol are track and field, cycling, judo, soccer, basketball, sailing, freestyle wrestling, water polo, chess and underwater activities. [Text] [Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 2130 GMT 18 Sep 79 FL]

PEASANTS COOPERATIVES--The number of agricultural-livestock production cooperatives as of August 1979 has reached 535 throughout the country the National Association of Small Farmers has announced. These cooperatives cover an area of almost 6,500 caballerias with a total of 13,345 members of whom slightly more than 4,600 are women. The provinces where more cooperatives have been formed are Pinar del Rio, Villa Clara and Holguin. [Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1600 GMT 14 Sep 79 FL]

FOREIGN MINISTRY REJECTS LAINO'S STATEMENTS

Asuncion Domestic Service in Spanish 1630 GMT 15 Sep 79 PY

[Text of undated communique released by the Paraguayan Foreign Ministry]

[Text] In view of items published in the Brazilian newspaper O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO on 11 September 1979 and in Argentine newspapers on 14 September 1979 regarding statements made by Domingo Laino, who said that President Joao Baptista Figueiredo refused to meet President Stroessner at the site of the Itaipu Dam, which is under construction, the Foreign Ministry has the obligation to point out to the national and international public that the offense carried in such statements comes from the presumed leader of the Authentic Liberal Party, who does not represent anyone. It is understood that such statements do not offend only the president of the Republic of Paraguay, but also the president of the Federal Republic of Brazil.

Laino's statement reveals a remarkable imagination, since the Foreign Ministry did not request, as it invariably did on similar occasions in the past through appropriate channels, a meeting between the chiefs of state.

The president of the Republic of Paraguay attended, on the above-mentioned dates, official functions occasioned by the visit to our country of the commander in chief of the Argentine Army, Lt Gen Roberto Viola.

CSO: 3010

PARAGUAY

DEBERNARDI ASKED ABOUT NUMBER OF ITAIPU TURBINES

Asuncion ABC COLOR in Spanish 17 Sep 79 p 10 PY

[Excerpt] Yesterday, when questioned about the turbines for the future dam Deputy Director General of Itaipu Binational Enterprise Enzo Debernardi stated: "There has been great confusion, but the fact that the plant will have 18 turbines really is no novelty."

He pointed out that on 20 October 1978, when the Parana River was diverted, a contract for the manufacturing of 18 turbines, and not 20 as has been stated lately, was signed.

He said that at that time it was mentioned that space for 2 additional turbines would be built.

On the other hand, Debernardi stated that in the notes exchanged by both countries in October 1978 it was well established that the plant "could have two additional units," but that 18 units would be fully operational at all times.

Talking about the reserve units once again, Debernardi said that they are not being manufactured "since they were never bought." He stated that the two turbines are a vision for the future and that their purchase should be decided at the right moment.

"If they are installed, they will be the last ones, added the president of the National Power Administration (ANDE). He also said that unit 18 will be established in 1990. At first the plant will work on four turbines, to which three or four will be added every year.

CSO: 3010

BRIEFS

ERP LEADER 'REFUGEE STATUS'--The Paraguayan Government has accepted the refugee status granted by the UN to Amilcar Santucho, who has been detained in Asuncion for nearly 3 years after being arrested while trying to travel to Peru. Santucho was arrested as he entered the country with a forged passport under the alias of Juan Montenegro. Several other identification documents were seized from him. Reliable sources regard him as one of the main "ideologs" of the "People's Revolutionary Army" (ERP). Amilcar Santucho is the brother of ERP top leader Roberto Mario Santucho, who was killed a few years ago by Buenos Aires security forces during the raid on a house located near El Libertador Ave. The Paraguayan Government yesterday notified the United Nations of its decision to honor that organization's request that "refugee status" be granted to Santucho. Well-informed sources have reported that in the next few days ERP "Ideolog" Santucho will depart for Sweden, which granted him asylum. [Excerpts] [Asuncion ULTIMA HORA in Spanish 18 Sep 79 p 18 PY]

CSO: 3010

URUGUAY

BRIEFS

AIRPLANE CONSTRUCTION--Montevideo, 12 Sep (AFP)--Newspaper LA MANANA reported that an airplane construction firm, Aeronautica Integral, will build the first Uruguayan airplanes for agricultural fumigation, for training and for sports under the technical direction of the Argentine aeronautical expert, Agustin Fraga. One of the airplanes will be completely made of metal for civilian use with 110 hp, others for military use with 150 hp and another type with tubing structures, metal and canvas, with 65 hp. The first 10 airplanes will be built under the licence of the U.S. enterprise Pazmany Aircraft Corporation of San Diego, California, and will cost approximately \$16,000. [Paris AFP in Spanish 1243 GMT 12 Sep 79 FY]

CSO: 3010

STATE COMPANIES EXAMINED IN RESPONSE TO CRITICISM

Iron, Steel Industry Future

Caracas EL NACIONAL in Spanish 29 Aug 79 p C-1

[Text] Ciudad Guayana, 27 August. With its 17,600 blue-collar workers, white-collar employees, technicians, and professional people in various fields on the payroll, the Orinoco Steel Corporation is the prime mover of this thriving city which is now approaching the half-million mark.

The people here believe that everything that happens at SIDOR [Orinoco Mining and Steel] will happen in Ciudad Guayana in one way or another because the statistics show that around one million people, in the State of Bolivar and other parts of the country, depend directly or indirectly on the Matanzas Steel Corporation.

This is why we can observe a certain degree of worry in all population sectors due to the idea of "what happens to SIDOR" in view of the charges made by the president of the Venezuelan Investment Fund against eight enterprises in the Iron Zone which are affiliates of the Venezuelan Corporation of Guayana or which operate on mixed capital with the participation of CVG [Venezuelan Corporation of Guayana].

In spite of the extreme degree of nervousness among the population in general and the engineers, technicians, white-collar employees, and blue-collar workers, in particular, nobody dares contradict the statements made by the president of the FIV [Venezuelan Investment Fund] because they believe that all of this implicitly is a part of the political game and because they think that this game must continue to be played alongside with real production activities.

This is why the work of the special correspondent from EL NACIONAL was made particularly difficult with regard to interviewing management personnel as well as engineers and technicians at the steel corporation who had interpretations different from those of Dr Leopoldo Diaz Bruzual who publicly criticized SIDOR on the following points:

(1) The project is estimated to be 18 months behind schedule;

(2) Iron and steel output at the old installations has gone down and this has been manifested in a man-hour productivity drop, due to technical failures, heavy personnel turnover, and the hiring of inexperienced personnel;

(3) A deterioration has been noted in its economic situation in spite of the fact that a profit of 3.5 million bolívares was made in 1978 primarily as a result of resale activities;

(4) A loss of 195 million bolívares has been estimated for 1979.

Plan IV

The project mentioned by the FIV president is Plan IV whose justification has been questioned by high-level officials because they consider it to be a product of the kind of economic "giantism" which pervaded the preceding administration.

Plan IV was designed to raise the steel output to a figure of 4.8 million tons per year with an investment of 15.3 billion bolívares as part of the Venezuelan government's strategy to create greater stability in the national economy through the more efficient utilization of natural resources that could yield new income, different from petroleum earnings, and that could lead to the substitution of imports.

Although it is true that there has been a delay in the execution of the project, technicians employed on it believe that it is difficult to establish the time frame by measuring the delay of the project as a whole since this is the sum total of a series of processes beginning with the approval of the plan by the national executive and the time intervals necessary for drafting the technical specifications, checking out the bidders, receiving the offers, making the award to the bidder, giving final approval, and signing the contract for the plant as such.

A high SIDOR executive--who made us pledge that we would not reveal his identity "to avoid any confrontations with the political sector"--explained to us a series of aspects relating to Plan IV and other points dealing with the charges made by the FIV president. The conversation was held in the midst of the intensive heat generated by the operating plants through which we went with him.

"The man in the street believes that Díaz Bruzual made charges concerning cases of administrative corruption," we said.

"That is one viewpoint but the process involved in signing the contracts for Plan IV is perhaps the thing that was delayed most of all because the bidding procedure was handled with the proper sense of responsibility and that even included the participation of people outside SIDOR who were selected because of their ability, experience, and honesty."

"How does the delay in project execution affect the country?"

"The delay is a relative thing and there are many factors that went into it; but a series of plants under Plan IV are now in production with satisfactory capacity due to which the periods of apprenticeship, which are normal in this industry, have been reduced."

With regard to the economic aspect, the costs of the project will go up 0.2% compared to 1975 due to the effects of international inflation. Nevertheless, our interviewee supplied us with a copy of the report sent from the World Bank to the FIV in 1977. It is in the English language and it might be translated as follows:

"The implementation of the extremely complex expansion program is generally making very good progress and full credit must be given to all personnel involved in the organization of projects and construction activities for having pushed this project with relatively little delay and for strictly sticking to the original budget. This is particularly true, given the size of the expansion project and the lessons learned in other projects recently carried out in developed countries."

We told the interviewee about the 0.2% figure which was given as the cost rise in the project due to the delays in its execution and we indicated that this seemed rather low to us, taking into account the worldwide inflation rate.

"SIDOR purchased the equipment for Plan IV at a moment of depression on world markets and that meant that we were getting the best prices. This can be seen since the investment per ton installed does not even come to \$1,000 whereas projects, whose execution is now being started in other parts of the world, represent an investment of no less than \$1,200 per ton. The Zulia Steel Corporation has similar offers."

Justified Expansion

"Is this expansion justified?"

"If we had expanded up to 2,500 tons and if we were now to start another expansion of equal size, to get to the figure that would complete the entire Plan IV, then the construction activities and the equipment would have cost us an additional \$5,000 million because we would have \$2,000 more per ton."

He maintained that the SIDOR installations are in keeping with the requirements of the domestic market and one cannot consider the plant to be among the biggest in the world. There are more than ten plants that have an output capacity of more than 5 million tons and all of them were built all at once.

"Now we see things from a certain 'downscaling' angle and certain people are surprised to see a plant such as the one under Plan IV whereas, in Japan, the construction of 10-million ton factories, built in a single project, is a normal thing."

Going through the plant facilities, we noticed that, in contrast to Plan IV, operations in the existing factories are beset by difficulties, particularly with regard to the blast furnaces used in the manufacture of pig iron and in the steel mills, something which was accepted by our escort and justified by the heavy personnel turnover which has made it impossible to carry on efficient operations in a sustained manner.

"But that is beyond our control," he added.

"Will the current backlog in the project not be made up, in other words, will this delay not be reduced?"

"In this project, we have to finish the bar train for the manufacture of steel bars which is scheduled to go into production by the end of September of this year. We have to finish the sheet metal production plant which is about half ready and which is scheduled to go into operation by the first half of 1981, as well as the seamless pipe rolling mill which is a highly important project within the initially established profitability program and which will fill the vacuum presently existing on the seamless pipe market for the petroleum industry."

The steel executive confessed that the last project here was not carried out due to lack of financial resources but that everything is ready for the bidding procedure and that they are waiting to get the money before they can start. The investment is estimated at between 700 and 800 million bolivares.

Other executives came over and one of them said that the only way out for the country to meet its needs was to go into the current expansion project because, if we did not do that, it would be necessary, between 1980 and 1984, to import the equivalent of 20 billion bolivares worth of steel, which SIDOR would be producing by then.

Economic Situation

SIDOR's economic situation, another aspect denounced by the FIV president, is admitted to be what it is by the executive interviewed and by others who preferred to remain anonymous.

"The serious problem the enterprise faces is that, with the current financial setup, we have a very heavy expenditure during the next five years although the installations will be finished; but we will not be able to run them at top output capacity until we finish our training program and until the personnel in those units have gone through their apprenticeship. During that period of time we will have to meet our financial commitments and keep up with the high depreciation cost levels of these installations."

This tells us that SIDOR's critical period will come between 1980 and 1984 but once maximum output capacity has been reached, the plant will be in a position to generate tremendous revenues.

"Starting in 1984, the gross profits will be on the order of 3 billion bolivares and there will be a cash surplus of more than 400 millions, giving us a debt-capital ratio of 41:59, including in this capital a figure of 4.05 billion bolivares in preferred stock of the FIV with an annual dividend of 7.5% or 284 millions."

Why is it Not Profitable?

There is an explanation as to why SIDOR is still not profitable.

This government enterprise is subject to price regulation concerning its output of steel bars, wire rods, and sheet metal and those prices are below prices on the domestic market of the United States, Japan, and Spain and they are considerably lower than those in Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina.

"In other words, SIDOR is subsidizing all products it turns out."

Due to this price regulation, the enterprise between 1976 and 1979, for sales of steel bars alone, failed to collect around 120,000 bolivares. These price controls were instituted by the national executive to compensate for the rise in the cost of cement and other investment items for the construction industry.

As an example illustrating the negative effect of this measure, the spokesman revealed that SIDOR purchases steel bars at 1,200 bolivares per ton on the international market and is forced to sell them on the domestic market at 1,100 bolivares.

SIDOR's Losses

The company's losses are directly linked to the prices on its products and only the lifting of these controls could guarantee a favorable balance sheet in the future.

This net loss was estimated for the 1979 budget to be on the order of 195.4 millions by virtue of the following factors and our source believes that the real figure will go down by the end of the fiscal year.

The 50% increase in the output of products for sale, in the current installations, as compared to 1978; maintaining the manpower freeze in priority areas; improving the cost factor through a cost reduction and cost-efficiency drive which has already been launched with favorable results; further improving the management of financial resources and making maximum use of the installations under Plan IV which are already in operation.

However, in spite of this broad productivity improvement program, adverse factors beyond the control of SIDOR will tend to have a negative effect, thus absorbing the estimated benefits. Here they are:

Rise in raw material prices (12%); manpower costs (39%); electrical energy and natural gas prices (33%); domestic and imported spare parts and supplies (34%); heavier financial charges as a result of the greater value of money on the market and the financing of working capital (71%); and decline in profits through the resale of imported products as a consequence of higher prices on the international market (155%).

All of this seems to indicate that the true situation of SIDOR is different from the way people have wanted to see it. It faces the challenge of becoming a kind of competitor to the petroleum industry with regard to national treasury revenues, producing wealth and creating jobs for a considerable number of Venezuelans.

New Iron, Steel Projects

Caracas EL NACIONAL in Spanish 30 Aug 79 p C-1

[Excerpt] Ciudad Guayana. Before attempting a reprogramming effort for the expansion of SIDOR with a view to reducing the goals established in Plan IV, Venezuela must already start thinking about new projects in that industry because otherwise there will be a shortage of close to 4 million tons of liquid steel per year by 1990.

That is the opinion of Venezuelan engineers who operate the Matanzas steel complex as expressed in informal talks with the special correspondent of EL NACIONAL. The SIDOR people defend the outfit as if it were their own and they talk about the challenge they face in the light of the country's future.

In coming to the defense of this Venezuelan government enterprise, the plant operators emphasize that SIDOR gets no subsidy whatsoever from the nation, nor does it benefit from regulated prices on the raw materials which it purchases in order to process them into steel.

"The company has to pay the price which is established for this raw material by domestic or foreign suppliers," we were told by an engineer who identified himself only by his initials, J.R., "and in this sense we get no comparative advantage as against any other plant in Brazil, Europe, or the United States."

This fact comes up not only in connection with the purchasing of raw material but also in connection with the financial expenditures of the enterprise in terms of Venezuelan manpower which is young and which requires basic and advanced training, which has low productivity and which comes rather high in terms of cost, due to the living standard in the Iron Zone.

"However," says J.R., "SIDOR prices compare favorably to those of the developed countries. No industrial plant in Venezuela, no matter how efficient it may be, produces at prices equal to those of the industrialized countries."

Steel Industry Generates More Than Petroleum

During our visit to the SIDOR facilities, we established contact with the president of the Association of Professional Personnel at the Orinoco Steel Plant, an organization consisting of about 350 university graduates in the various special fields. The association's president is Antonio Montano, an economist, with whom we set up the interview at the end of his work shift.

Warning us that all his remarks are purely personal, Montano pointed out that professional personnel at SIDOR are firmly convinced that the steel complex will reach the goal of 4.8 million tons of steel as a result of the expansion under Plan IV.

"We, the members of APPSO [Association of Professional Personnel at the Orinoco Steel Plant] quite clearly understand the urgent necessity of Venezuelan industry to become less and less dependent upon petroleum in a systematic and sustained manner. The steel industry generates and has a multiplying-effect capacity very much greater than the petroleum industry as demonstrated by the fact that SIDOR alone provides jobs for more than 17,000 persons, who, in relative terms, number more than the people employed in the petroleum industry."

Montano talked about the commitment which SIDOR has toward the country and which the technicians are carrying out.

"We may have problems," he admits, "because it is absolutely impossible not to have any problems in an integrated production undertaking extending from the basic iron mineral all the way to finished products, such as steel bars between 2 and 11 inches, all kinds of pipe diameters, all lines of sheet metal products, and so on; these are problems which all of the professional personnel have an obligation to tackle as a function of the diversification of this country's economic production."

Productivity -- The Big Problem

"Venezuela is a country which, although it is a single-industry exporting country, is subject to the fluctuations that may take place on the international petroleum market, in spite of the sustained price rise, which is why it is absolutely necessary to diversify the industrial structure," Montano pointed out.

He admitted that the contribution of engineers and technicians to this development comes at a high social cost because there are housing, economic (minimum wage), and social problems here; but he did point out that they hope to get decisions from the enterprise in order to avoid the talent drain in various special fields.

"The activity of all of our professional men is aimed at increasing our productivity which keeps going up but which is still not totally satisfactory; we simply have to put certain company policy aspects together in order to achieve higher goals. This is a gut problem," he stressed.

Economist Montano was joined by other management personnel from APPSO and one of them spoke up to remark that it is absolutely necessary for the country to expand SIDOR.

"You do not have to be an engineer or economist to realize the price effect deriving from the export of a ton of iron mineral and the export of a ton of finished product. The difference is tremendous. And this is a basic problem which apparently has not yet been properly taken into account; but the big task is to process the minerals so that the value-added will be sufficiently economical and so that the sales prices will go up as a result."

Technology Transfer

Montano resumed the conversation to talk about "foreign influence" in SIDOR, a term which we heard on various occasions and on other technical levels.

"The consultation and hiring of foreign personnel must be seen in a good light although there has to be a limit on the numbers. If we are sufficiently capable and if the company's decision-making authorities are clear on the fact that a big project, such as Plan IV, must leave some 'know-how' in Venezuela, then undoubtedly all top management positions which, at the present moment, might be held by non-Venezuelans, will very soon be in Venezuelan hands."

Another APPSO official now spoke up and said that, if Venezuelan engineers absorb that technology in the shortest possible time, "then we will have had a good deal; if not, either because of the language barrier or because the foreign personnel are not sufficiently able to transfer that technology, then we will have gotten a bad deal."

Venezuelan Technicians Can Run the Show

The sheet metal products plant -- the prior stage in the expansion of SIDOR -- is completely managed by Venezuelan technicians and has already achieved the installed capacity in the electrolytic line. The apprenticeship process was handled in record time and the plant supervisor is also a Venezuelan.

"We do indeed have well-trained people but we repeatedly stated our worry about decisions which are made without consulting the technician who is on the production line. On the level of the worker, when we get a skilled worker, especially from the Southern Horn, without any steel industry tradition, with the exception of Argentina and Brazil, they introduce him

to us as if he were an expert but in the end it turns out that he came to learn from us."

Guri Dam Schedule

Caracas EL NACIONAL in Spanish 31 Aug 79 p C-1

[Article by Hugo Lopez: "With labor peace guaranteed, Guri Dam expansion to be finished five months ahead of schedule"]

[Text] Project is world's second-largest in terms of dam facilities and is to become operational on 1 January 1985 to increase the electric energy output capacity to 10,000 megawatts. Absenteeism biggest problem in area. "Venbozel," one of the enterprises questioned by the FIV maintains tight-lipped silence.

Ciudad Guayana, 30 August. This city's tremendous economic growth, triggered by the activities of the basic steel industry enterprises, has been the cause of a series of maladjustments inherent in this expansion, with considerable repercussions on the companies directed by CVG.

The biggest problem facing the industry in attaining the targets established in the expansion projects, involving millions in government investments, is the skilled manpower shortage and the heavy personnel turnover. This phenomenon has repercussions not only on the government enterprises but also on private companies which are permanently subjected to pressure from workers demanding higher wages and better working conditions.

All of these problems came to light in the course of the debate started by FIV president Dr Leopoldo Diaz Bruzual in questioning the management of some of the basic enterprises and stressing the need for resolving the labor issue which is certainly beyond the control of the managements of CVG affiliates.

Although some of the administrations were questioned, there is no suspicion whatsoever as to any fraud or administrative corruption on the various personnel levels in these enterprises. Opinions however are in agreement on the labor problem and on the fact that it will be difficult to solve that problem any time soon.

Foreigners are being hired by way of a solution but they are being selected in countries without any major steel industry tradition, in particular; in many cases, those persons really come to Guayana to learn the trade. After they have learned all they can, they go off to private outfits or they simply go to another country.

This special correspondent inspected the various plants in the Iron Zone and arrived at the conclusion that there are undeniable problems

which in certain cases are quite serious, such as in the transfer of technology which is not received by Venezuelans in all aspects.

But although there are problems and maladjustments in many areas, the sensible thing is to move toward a solution and to avoid any debates that lead nowhere except to a stampede of professional and technical personnel who will go off looking elsewhere for social and economic security, thus damaging the future of Venezuela which undoubtedly resides in the country's southern region.

Guri -- Five Months Ahead of Schedule

The Guri Dam expansion project, christened with the name of "Raul Leoni," in honor of the former president, was designed to increase the energy generation capacity to 9 million kilowatts. Execution was assigned to the Brazilian-Venezuelan consortium "Brasven" under the direct supervision of the Caroni Electrification (EDELCA) government enterprise.

Shortly after the start of construction on the project, which constitutes the final stage of Guri, labor problems began to arise with the contractor and work was practically at a standstill during the last quarter of 1978. It resumed in January but with a considerable delay estimated at seven months.

The delay necessitated a reprogramming of the project in an overall form, using engineering resources and introducing modifications in the construction process to make up the time lost. This review is already underway and estimates indicate that the facility will go into service on 1 January 1985, five months ahead of the original deadline.

"This estimate," engineer Gerardo Chavarri pointed out, "was prepared by us in the firm belief that there will be labor peace in the area where we employ 4,000 people hired by the Brasven consortium."

Engineer Chavarri, a Venezuelan, is the inspectorate manager and representative of EDELCA for the final stage of the Guri Dam.

Chavarri talked to us about the seven-month delay in this hydroelectric project but he noted that targets are being met according to plan as a result of the reprogramming effort. The July and August targets were attained 95%. The modifications in the original project were introduced last June.

Together with the EDELCA engineer we inspected the new facilities which will enable Guri to generate 10,000 megawatts starting in 1985 (the current capacity is 2,060 megawatts); this will be enough to meet the country's requirements until 1990.

Starting that year, there might be expansions at Guri only in the machinery building to increase the output capacity at that time. According to the project engineer, it would be recommended to expand the Macagua, Tocoma, and Caruachi plants.

We also mentioned the rise in project costs as a result of the delay. Chavarri revealed that this had been anticipated.

"The contract was drawn up in terms of unit prices with payment for escalation (additional payments due to the rise in the cost of materials, supplies, and manpower). It is probable that there will be an increase, but with compensation, and the investment might be deferred."

He then talked about the stages that have been completed and that remain to be completed in this project and he said that the first program unit will be in operation as of 1 April 1982 with a delay of three months. The other units will be ready by the specified target dates.

Dangerous Absenteeism

According to the contract, the 4,000 workers at the site get housing, food, recreation, and other benefits of a social character. Nevertheless, there is a level of absenteeism which has interfered with progress at Guri.

"This is a problem that has to be corrected and eliminated as soon as possible to prevent any further delays," says engineer Chavarri.

To achieve this, EDELCA is improving the communication facilities with Ciudad Guayana and Ciudad Bolivar. The official is confident that this problem will be solved but the effort must be kept up.

On the other hand, engineer Gerardo Chavarri believes that the project construction times can be cut; this project is the world's second largest water power facility which is why we have equipment here that makes it possible to increase the concrete production capacity for the reservoir.

"In other countries, in Mexico and the United States, they managed to achieve a greater concrete output with less equipment than we have at Guri where we do have the equipment required for the program, however. That requires a continuous and efficient effort and of course also equipment maintenance."

According to Chavarri, Brasven must assume this responsibility, along with the rest of the workers, because the thing that is at stake is the immediate future of Venezuela in the matter of electric energy generation.

But the most important thing and the topic which the inspection manager stressed is labor peace so that the construction goals may be attained.

"In this respect, Brasven must meet all labor commitments pertaining to housing, services, pay, and better treatment of personnel."

Venbozel -- an Enigma

The facts as to what is really going on at Venbozel -- an enterprise which received one of the severest challenges from the FIV president -- have become an enigma to the special correspondent from EL NACIONAL. It proved to be impossible to contact Mr Humberto Solente who is the general manager of the mixed Venezuelan-French capital company.

Countless questions to locate the general manager or some other management official who could present a realistic briefing of what is going on at Venbozel turned out to be fruitless. Since it is impossible to get through the security barriers without prior authorization from an authorized individual, we refrained from taking any further steps and we were left only with the drawing showing the smoking chimneys of the iron alloy plant.

The minister of state and president of FIV had this to say about Venbozel:

"This enterprise is completely bankrupt and moreover has a cumulative debt of 167 million bolivares in French banks since Venbozel is being managed by citizens of that country and since it was they who brought it to bankruptcy.

"It is having serious management problems and, in evaluating its recent development process, it has been possible to establish the presence of improvisation and a light-hearted approach in making decisions and carrying them out.

"Besides, the Venbozel enterprise was never able to come up to even 50% of its installed capacity; even so, the 'French always managed to export profits back to their country.'

"These indeed are serious charges but for two days we tried to get explanations on these points while the doors at the Matanzas plant remained closed."

Aluminum to Japan

Caracas EL NACIONAL in Spanish 1 Sep 79 p C-2

[Article by Hugo Lopez: "Agreement to export aluminum to Japan was forced by investment fund"]

[Text]The 6-month delay in the execution of the Venalum project is due to the same factors that restrict any development of major dimensions in Ciudad Guayana. The plant designed to produce 280,000 tons of aluminum per year, considered the second biggest in the construction phase, will yield profits as of 1981 and will be a supplementary foreign-currency earning source, after petroleum.

Ciudad Guayana, 31 August. The aluminum industry, another one of the pillars cementing Venezuela's future, has not been spared any of the problems that have had negative repercussions on the ambitious projects being carried out in the Iron Zone.

The expansion of the Venalum plants also suffered a delay in terms of construction. It is estimated that the delay comes to about six months, compared to the original project target dates; but even when the technicians admit this fact, they point out that the enterprise, established with Venezuelan and Japanese capital in a ratio of 85.4% to 14.6%, respectively, is already producing 50% of its anticipated capacity of 280,000 tons per year.

The delay in project execution would seem to be important and has been a source of concern for the president of the FIV but technicians who work at the site believe that this delay would not be serious in any developed country if one takes the dimension of the program into account.

As in the case of the big projects being carried out in the Guayana steel complex, construction at the Venalum plant was influenced by similar factors, such as:

- (a) Shortage of sand, gravel, and cement required to make the concrete necessary for this construction project;
- (b) Slow and inadequate pace of domestic supply of fire brick and regular brick for the coal plant which necessitated purchases from abroad;
- (c) Shortage of electrical wiring materials;
- (d) Delays and heavy manpower turnover in skilled and semiskilled labor in the area;
- (e) Delays in supply of structural steel for building construction;
- (f) Problems in getting visas and legalizing the documents necessary for the entry into the country of skilled and semiskilled workers required for construction. The effect of this factor has been estimated at six out of the seven months of delay;
- (g) Housing problems involving the workers.

Rising Costs

Engineer Enrique M. Castells, Venalum vice president, supplied us with a company report anticipating financial problems and an increase in project cost springing from the higher cost of money, increases in project contracts due to higher manpower and construction material costs.

Even if we take all of these factors together, the total cost of the project per annual ton of installed capacity will be on the order of

\$2,100 (9,030 bolívares), as against \$3,500, estimated on the international market for new projects of this kind.

The document released by engineer Castells gives the reasons for the rising costs estimated at 280 million bolívares due to higher incomes (152 million bolívares), preparatory expenditures (175 millions), and housing construction (30 millions).

The increase in the project investment comes to 637 million bolívares, including the changes introduced to build a pier on the Orinoco river for loading the export products and for unloading the imported raw materials, the purchase of cranes, all of which is necessary for the industry and was not originally contemplated in the program.

Significance of Project and Capital

The project outline for Venalum (Venezuelan Aluminum Industry), drawn up on 29 August 1973, is based on the technology developed by Reynolds International with a standard output capacity of 280,000 metric tons per year. The originally required investment was on the order of 2,165.3 million bolívares and that was raised to 2,758 millions when the interest during construction and the labor capital had to be included.

Besides, the basic outline included a port on the Orinoco river for ships of 30,000 tons deadweight, raw material storage facilities, anode and concrete reinforcement production facilities, electric power substations, as well as maintenance and laboratory facilities.

The stockholder capital, based on 34 million bolívares authorized for the enterprise, was contributed by a group of Japanese partners to the extent of 80% with the remaining 20% contributed by CVG.

Later on, the makeup of the company capital was revised and the national executive branch itself recommended that the distribution be changed to a ratio of 80:20% for Venezuela and Japan, respectively. Since it was unable to maintain its participation in the indicated percentage, the Japanese group was left with 14.6% and Venezuela took care of the remaining 86.33%, even though it still has an option to regain the total indicated here within the period of one year.

Although Venalum's company capital authorized by the National Congress comes to 1 billion bolívares, the current level is 750 millions.

Contracts with Japan

Apart from the agreements signed with Reynolds International, for services involving administration, construction, engineering, and technical advice, and with Alcase (Aluminum of Caroni), for administrative services, Venalum signed an agreement with a group of Japanese enterprises for the sale of 160,000 metric tons of aluminum per year at international market list price as of the close of shipping.

This contract, which was challenged by FIV president Dr Leopoldo Diaz Bruzual, was forced upon Venalum by the organization itself, based on recommendations from the World Bank.

Engineer Enrique Castells does not deny that story and, on the contrary, he admits it, pointing out that the World Bank on that occasion considered it indispensable to assure itself of a long-term contract to export aluminum and to be able to justify the dimension of the project under consideration as the world's second largest in the construction phase and the biggest as a project designed to produce 280,000 tons.

That was the origin of the export agreement to sell 160,000 tons of aluminum per year, when the plant reaches its maximum production level, to the Japanese group made up of the following enterprises: Showa Denko, Kobe Steel, Mitsubishi Chemical Industries, Mitsubishi Metal Corporation, and Sumitomo Chemical.

Engineer Castells made it clear that the terms of the contract with the Japanese calls for a discount of 6% on the international list price at the time of corresponding shipping, a reduction which is standard procedure on the international aluminum market and which in many cases involves higher percentages. The current price quoted on this metal is on the order of \$1,400 per ton (6,020 bolivares), a level which tends to go up progressively.

Financial Situation

Venalum estimates that it will have an aluminum output of 123,000 tons this year, a figure which is to be increased to 230,000 tons in 1980 when the plant will be running at full capacity.

Out of the total output, 121,500 tons will be sold for an approximate amount of 626.1 million bolivares.

In estimating its financial results, the enterprise anticipated a loss of 32 million bolivares for operations in 1979 but that figure could turn out to be lower at the close of the fiscal year when the roughly 50% output capacity will make it possible to reach a point of equilibrium.

The real profits which Venalum is supposed to yield will become possible only starting in 1981.

That is when the profits will start coming in; these will be small but they will be profits, according to the Venalum vice president.

Orinoco Iron Mining

Caracas EL NACIONAL in Spanish 3 Sep 79 p D-11

[Article by Hugo Lopez: "Venezuela has guaranteed revenues of 45 billion per year for 100 years from iron mineral reserves"]

[Text]The nationalization of industry has been beneficial to the country in spite of the problems arising on the international iron markets due to the worldwide steel industry crisis. Starting in 1975, the gross income produced by the extraction industry came to 5,466 million bolivares, with profits on the order of 1,467 millions.

Ciudad Guayana, 2 September. The iron mineral reserves in Cerro Bolivar and other deposits, extending from the Orinoco Delta all the way to Galeras de Cinaruco, in the State of Apure, guarantee the country an annual income of at least 45 billion bolivares over the next 100 years, according to estimates prepared by the government enterprise Ferrominera Orinoco which assumed control over the industry after nationalization on 1 January 1975.

The output capacity of the mines at Cerro Bolivar and El Pao is 27 million metric tons and the mineral is currently being extracted at a rate of 14 million tons per year to supply the raw material for the basic industries in the Iron Zone and to meet export commitments estimated on the order of 12 million tons per year.

The history of Ferrominera Orinoco is short. It was established in December 1975 and became operational in January 1976 after the assets belonging to Orinoco Mining Co. and Iron Mines Co. of Venezuela, the former concessionaires, were transferred to it.

The assets of these two transnational companies at that time were estimated at 480 million bolivares and the amount was paid back through monthly instalments, without interest, over a period of ten years.

The government enterprise as a matter of fact assumed responsibility for running the nationalized mining industry on 1 January 1976 as part of the basic framework established by the executive branch;

- (a) Acquiring full control over the iron extraction industry;
- (b) Increasing the value-added of the mineral in the country and guaranteeing its availability for domestic steel industry development;
- (c) Not reducing the employment level in the iron industry and assigning trained Venezuelans to the highest management positions;
- (d) Carrying out nationalization in such a way that production activities and traditional customers will not be disturbed and that the national interest will not be interfered with;
- (e) Guarantee a satisfactory sales price level;
- (f) Guarantee the necessary storage capacity for transportation and promote the utilization of Venezuelan vessels.

Mineral Output

Starting in 1975 and until the end of 1978, the industry excavated a total volume of 114.7 million metric tons, broken down into 67.7 million tons of mineral (59%) and 47 million tons of waste and low-content mineral (41%) in the El Pao, Cerro Altamira and Cerro Bolivar deposits.

These figures were supplied to the special correspondent from EL NACIONAL by Pedro J. Acosta, the public relations manager at Ferrominera Orinoco, and Ricardo Bailey Lazzari, the information and publications coordinator, on board the "El Isleno," a twin-engine aircraft we used in flying over the mining areas and the basic enterprises in Guayana.

Iron Markets

The sales by Ferrominera Orinoco on the domestic market went up considerably starting in 1975 although the sales volume on the domestic market is low due to the fact that SIDOR directly uses the material from the San Isidro deposit which had been ceded to it prior to nationalization.

As far as the export markets are concerned, Ferrominera sells in Europe and the United States where the markets shrank due to the crisis in the international steel industry particularly in 1976. The situation has straightened itself out and the percentage share of Venezuelan mineral on the United States market has kept steady at 50% in spite of the reduction in uncontrolled mineral imports by the big steel corporations.

Financial Results

Between 1975 and 1978, the gross income produced by the iron mineral extraction industry came to 5,466 million bolivares with profits on the order of 1,467 millions. Pedro J. Acosta and Ricardo Bailey believe that the following points must be made in connection with these results:

(a) In spite of a sales drop of 21.6 million tons during the period of 1975-1978 compared to the period of 1971-1974, gross earnings went up by 1,471 million bolivares and the net profit went up 324 millions;

(b) The increase in expenditures between the periods of time compared here came to 1,608 million bolivares and is a consequence of the increase in the cost of materials and fixed assets resulting from the worldwide inflationary process, the rise in shipping costs and tolls, new collective bargaining contracts and greater expenditures for benefits such as health, education, and company store privileges;

(c) During the period of 1975-1978, the country obtained accountable benefits of 1,478 million bolivares, compared to 981 millions during the period of 1971-1974. This represents an increase of more than 50% in absolute terms and 11.62 bolivares per ton sold, the latter being equivalent to an increase of 102% between the two periods of time compared here.

As far as the financial results for 1978 are concerned, engineer Guillermo Briceno, president of Ferrominera Orinoco, revealed that the net profit came to 54.6 million bolívares.

The sales volume during the fiscal year came to 13.3 million metric tons, the net income was 612.5 millions, equivalent to a drop of 18.5% compared to the preceding year; and the costs and expenditures, excluding the income tax, came to a total of 522.3 millions with a drop of 4.7% compared to 1977.

Company officials emphasized that the extraction of low-content mineral and waste was rationalized between 1975 and 1978 and that unprecedented volumes were achieved, above all in Cerro Bolívar, compared to mineral extraction, in order to keep the deposits at all times under optimum long-range exploitation conditions. The statistics supplied by Acosta and Bailey show us that mineral output dropped from 17.5 million metric tons in 1976 to 12.8 million tons in 1977. They blame this on the decline in the mineral demand on the international markets which made it necessary to close down operations at Cerro Altamira in 1977 while activities were concentrated at Cerro Bolívar for the purpose of centralizing and rationalizing the production and maintenance activities and reducing operating costs.

This factor did not considerably influence the economic situation of Ferrominero Orinoco because, by the end of 1979, the benefits will come to 1,467 million bolívares of which 60% will go to the national treasury under the heading of income tax while the remaining 40% will be capitalized for operational, maintenance, and new equipment expenditures.

Investments

Ever since nationalization, the principal and only stockholder of the enterprise, CVG, together with Ferrominera, have been approving investments for various projects amounting to a total of 509 million bolívares for the expansion of the screening plant and the construction of the Puerto Ordaz--Matanzas railroad line; the remodeling and maintenance of the briquette plant which will increase its output to 600,000 metric tons per year.

Other investments amounting to 109 million bolívares were earmarked for the replacement of equipment, the improvement of installations, processing and transportation, general services, schools and housing for personnel, and so forth.

Reserves

The main iron mineral deposits are located in the so-called "iron belt of the Imataca complex," in an area covering approximately 94,000 square kilometers.

Here we have proven iron mineral reserves with an average content of 60%, estimated at 2,148 million metric tons as of 31 December 1978.

The ferruginous quartzites, with a content of between 39% and 50%, are now being evaluated and geologically quantified and estimates run between 8 and 10 billion metric tons in reserves, suitable for utilization by currently available concentration methods.

The profits before taxes came to 138.8 millions and the enterprise turned over to the national treasury the amount of 84.1 millions in income taxes.

"Against a background of weakness and stiff competition on international markets," engineer Briceno pointed out, "1978 iron mineral sales were characterized by limited demand, a noticeable drop in prices, and an extraordinary accumulation of stockpiles at both ends of the commercial cycle."

He indicated that prices on international iron markets are a direct result of the free supply and demand in a highly competitive situation especially since the recession in the worldwide steel industry in 1975.

"With an extraordinary surplus of supply over demand in 1978, iron mineral prices continued to be depressed but we hope that there will be a slight recovery in 1978," he confided.

The Ferrominera president emphasized that, in spite of the depressed market situation, the company managed to increase iron mineral sales by 9.4% as a result of its persevering and dynamic sales effort in Europe and the United States.

The general situation of this government enterprise makes us think that the nationalization of the iron industry -- the extraction industry -- was not influenced by the process in which Venezuelan management and engineering specialists are now involved to a great degree. A conclusion of this situation is presented by engineer Guillermo Briceno in these terms:

(1) We have consolidated and integrated a single enterprise on the basis of the operational structures of the former concessionaire companies;

(2) Ferrominera has maintained high operational and administrative efficiency levels;

(3) It has assumed control over the sale of its iron mineral on an international level and it has diligently carried out the commitments undertaken with its customers;

(4) In spite of the notably adverse conditions on foreign markets, it obtained substantial economic benefits for the country and contributed significant resources to the national economy;

(5) We promptly and in an overall fashion discharged the payment commitments at home and abroad;

(6) Ferrominera has made big investments in order to expand its processing capacity, to improve its operational efficiency, to build a railroad line to Matanzas, to remodel and enlarge the briquette plant, and to maintain its equipment and installations;

(7) We signed a collective [bargaining] contract of exceptional features and we took care of the definite transfer of housing units to the workers; we also provided social services such as medical and hospital benefits, company store privileges, and schools;

(8) Through a broad policy of permanent communication and mutual respect, the enterprise and the corresponding labor unions maintained a climate of labor peace in the iron mineral extraction industry.

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